

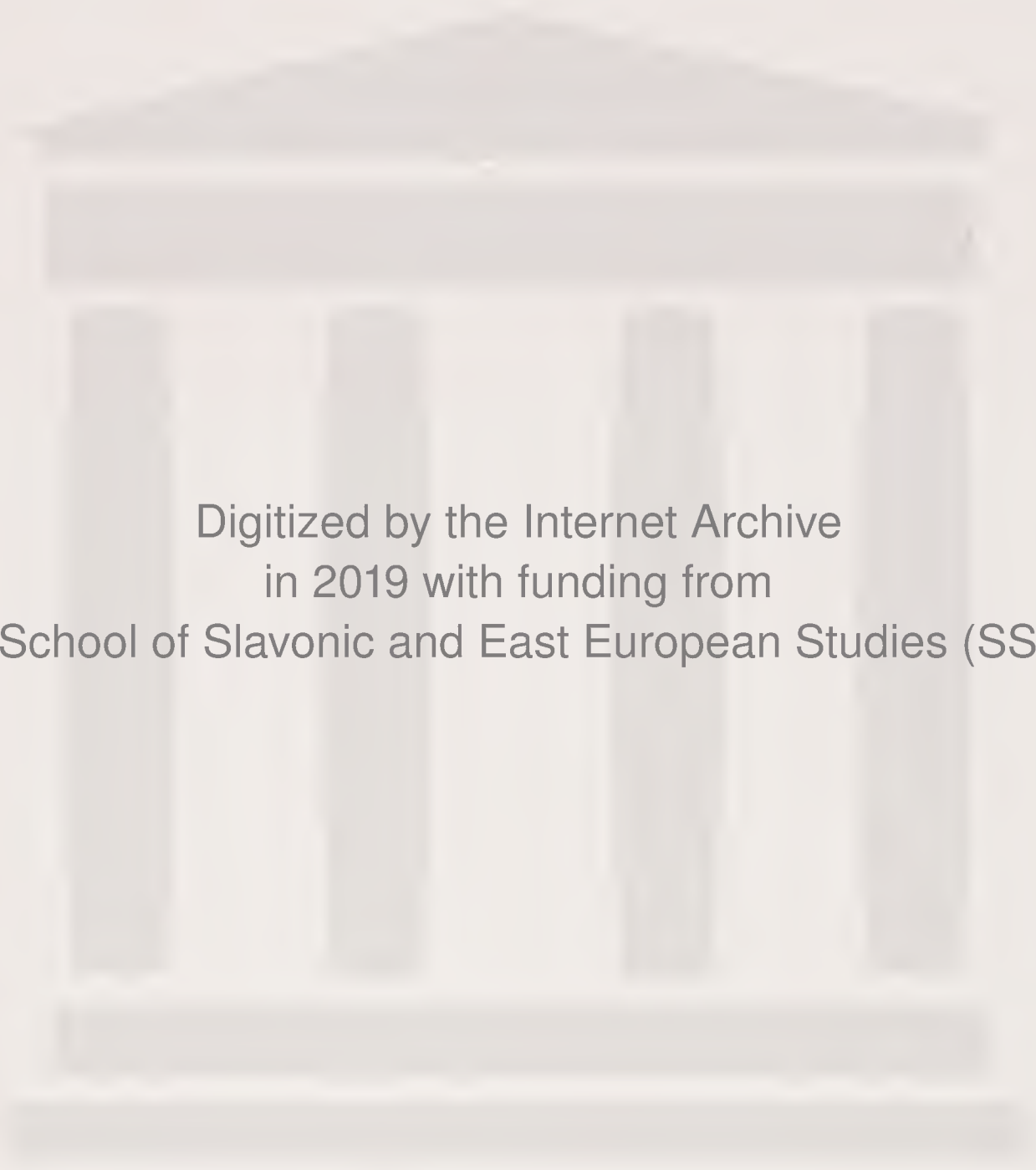
ESSAYS IN CZECH AND SLOVAK LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

DAVID SHORT



Pestrokřídlec podražcový

School of Slavonic and East European Studies
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The cover picture shows the butterfly *Zerynthia polyxena*.

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Foreword

Two-thirds of these essays have appeared previously, but often in out-of-the-way places and in languages other than English; all have been to a greater or lesser extent amended or extended. They are brought together now (along with chapters 1, 4, 9, 10, 12 and 15, which appear here in print for the first time) to make them accessible to a more general English-speaking readership, at a time when interest in matters Czech and Slovak is once again growing.

The essays fall broadly into two groups: those concerning aspects of the Czech and Slovak languages as such, with particular concentration on the verb (Chapters 7, 9-12), and those concerning many different aspects of the languages in use, chiefly through analysis and discussion of individual writers' individual works (Chapters 1-8, 17). The focus may be on grammar, register or theme.

Some of the chapters may by their nature interest a more general reader, for whom expressions quoted are provided with English translations; others, however, require beyond question that the reader have more than a passing familiarity with the language discussed, which then renders translation superfluous, even, in many cases, uninformative or intrusive.

David Short

Windsor, December 1995

**JAN HUS AS A GENERAL LINGUIST, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
ČESKÁ NEDĚLNÍ POSTILA**

The aim of the Hussite movement was to make
available to all Czechs the truths and precepts of the
Christian religion in a language they could understand.

Robert Auty¹

The above quotation, which applies as much to Hus in particular as to the Hussites in general, is perhaps all that is needed to justify discussion of Hus the linguist in the context of heresy.² I further take as axiomatic that no specific proof is required that Hus was indeed a linguist, any more than proof that he was a theologian; his theoretical works on language have been adequately discussed in all the standard histories. However, a closer look at the various linguistic utterances that appear in the *Postila* could be of some additional interest.

While the *Postila* is 'just' a set of sermons based on individual interpretations of the best known parables and other NT readings, the author's linguistic persona is never far away. Hus leaves us with the impression that 'once a linguist, always a linguist', and that his interest in language is more than merely subordinated to the needs of exegesis. That need must be the underlying and dominant impulse, but if we were to include semantics within linguistics, then the text is primarily linguistic; however, to do so would detract and distract from the theological content *per se* and so no such line is adopted here. Yet there are occasions where a momentarily dominant linguistic (not necessarily semantic) aspect can lead the author astray, though not necessarily any more so than his predecessors, so that — from the modern perspective — any contingent theological point becomes diluted if not spurious.

The totality of relevant data (individual utterances) contained in the *Postila* reveals its author's linguistic views, or behaviour patterns as a linguist, explicitly or implicitly, on a wide range of levels: above all, he comes across as a lexicologist, then as translation

¹ 'Czech' in A.M. Schenker and E. Stankiewicz (eds): *The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development*, New Haven, 1980, p.167.

² This chapter is adapted from a paper given in 1994 at a conference on heresy, held as part of the research plan of the Department of East European Languages and Literature of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London.

theorist and/or linguistic comparativist, onomast, etymologist, linguistic encyclopedist, transformationalist *sui generis*, speech therapist and even an unconscious aspectologist. (He can also be found using forms which would today smack of sociolinguistic 'political correctness', although he uses them to avoid possible ambiguity.)³ What barely comes through at all, though it is present in other works, is his self-appointed role as a linguistic purist given to 'rectifying' Czech or ridding it of Germanisms. Indeed there are even hints of an opposing trend, whereby a Germanism may figure as *explicans* to a less transparent *explicandum*.

Metalinguistically the *Postila* is not very instructive, and the terminological apparatus used applies as much to theological as linguistic explication. Let it be merely pointed out that the devices used include the verb *položiti* for 'use', 'say', 'express as'; *vyložiti* 'expound', 'define'; *vznieti* for 'be expressed as', 'mean'; *znamenati se* 'be meant'; *dieti* for 'say', 'call', 'mean'; *slúti* 'be called', 'mean'; *smysl* or *rozum* for 'meaning'; the imperative form *to věz* for 'understand as' or 'NB'; *slovce* or *slovo* for 'word'; and a wide variety of constructions to express 'in such and such a language': adverbs: *latíně* and *česky* 'in Latin', 'in Czech', adverbialized prepositional phrases: *po německu* 'in German', *v řeči řecké* 'in Greek', and adverbialized instrumental case: *řečí syrskú* 'in Syrian'.

1. Hus the lexicologist

Hus's knowledge of the contemporary Czech lexicon is put to effect in one much-used way, namely in the provision of synonyms, which may sometimes look like common-or-garden, (semi-)redundant synonym pairs, triples or even longer lists. Usually, however, he uses this device to expand on or explain words which are obsolescent, high-style (from the biblical text with which he is operating) or in one way or another alien, or simply ambiguous. In any event the overriding motive is to make the text being expounded easier of access to the hearer or reader. There are some thirty to forty synonym pairs based on nouns, half a dozen or so adjectival pairings, about fifteen verbal, five pronominal, five prepositional, over thirty syntactic of one kind and another, and two morphological. Some occur more than once. The devices used all indicate that the intention is to explain (use of *neb* 'or', *t. or to jest* 'that is' and similar, or inclusion of the would-be explanatory synonym in brackets after that which it explains, the method used almost exclusively in the pericopes). Very few cases, if any, are purely decorative, that is, synonym pairing as an artistic device.

The examples which follow are a by no means exhaustive list.

³ I refer here to the sentence: *To die svatý Pavel, ne přikazuje, ale radu dáváje těm, kteříž a které nechtie státi v panenské nebo ve vdovské čistotě* (93/120-121). In fact it reveals a clear awareness that the plural oblique cases of pronouns are not gender-specific, while the nominative and accusative are. Here we see Hus the morphologist.

a. Nouns:

cecíkové nebo prsi 158/168⁴

divy (znamenie neb zázraky) 160/2-3

z úlamkóv (neb otruskóv neb zbytkóv) 331/14 [this in the pericope; the text proper has *ostatky* 332/28ff]

v óbecnici, to jest v óbecném domku [overt contrast with *hospoda*] 82/48-49

dietě (t. pacholek neb slúha) 97/10 [adds precision]

kamenných stúdví (neb kádí, čberóv, vědr neb lahví) 90/8 [pericope; in the text it becomes the subject of a discussion of Holy Land *realia*, see below]

rúhavec, to jest kacieř 137/205

chvoštišti (neb metlami) 154-55/27-8

do hrádku (městečka) 191/2; also: *v hrádek, to jest v město* 379/32; and *hrádek - malé městečko ohrazené* 195/138 [this in a discussion on a distinction ultimately seen as semantically irrelevant: whether Emäus was a *hrádek*, *městečko* or *ves*]

davu (bolesti, již má, dávieci sě) 226/15 [for disambiguation]

dřevo (štěp) 334/6 [ditto]

„náspem“, to jest plotem nasutým prstí 348/39 [explaining a technical term]

lúpežníci (neb lapáci, dráči, bráči) 355/6-7

„vražedníky“ neb morděře 416/70 [using a more familiar, though German, word as explicans]

centurióna, rytieře pohanského 420/39 [expounding a loan-word]

„špehéře“ neb zpytáky 432/56 [isolated touch of purism?]

„zlost“ neb nepravost 434/107 [possibly disambiguation]

b. Morphological:

blahoslavené břicho (neb -ný břich), jenž tě nosilo (nosil) 155/33-4 [displays knowledge of free gender variants]

chlebmi (neb chleby) 331/8 [Hus's knowledge of morphological instability or evolution and possible free variation]

c. Adjectives:

v temnosti zevnitřnie (pekelné) 97/22-3 [explains 'outer darkness']

svrchované dobré, to jest nejlepší dobré 406/122-23

„blažení“ neb blahoslavení 459/332

d. verbs:

velebě (chvále) 132/18

⁴ Forms are quoted in imitation of the style employed in the edited source text, namely Jiří Daňhelka (ed.): *Magistri Iohannis Hus Opera omnia*, Prague, 1992. Numbers in the form 88/88 refer to page/line.

„budú dokonány“..., *to jest budú naplněny* 133/51
sta rozmlúvala (*neb bála sobě*) 191/5 [preference for simpler, non-derived verb]
srdce naše hořelo jest (*radostí se zapalovalo*) 192/34-35 [avoids any literal interpretation of *hořeti*]
otvieraľ (*vykládal*) 192/35-36 [more everyday, non-metaphorical word]
ustanú (*neb zhynú*) 331/5 [commoner word]
vzhóru vzhled (*neb vzevřev vzhóru*) 367/21 [more central morphological type]
vlásti (*neb vládařit*) 339/5-6 [transparent item replacing opaque one]

e. pronouns:

ta všechna (*neb ty všechny věci*) 140/16 [interesting pl. of sg. pronominal use not normally pluralizable; influenced by original?]
Jenž (*neb a on*) 149/6 [*jenž* here not rel. pron.]
přes Sidon k moři galilejskému, jenž (*neb kteréžto město sidon*) 360/2-3 [resolves ambiguity; there is at least one other similar occurrence]

f. prepositional phrases:

upadl jest v lotry (*mezi lotry*) 367/23 [archaism replaced by current usage]
 „*ve jméno*“ *neb jménem „pána našeho Jezukrista... 456/241-2*
...psány sú skrze proroky (*neb od prorokův*) 132/3-4 [apparent clarification of expression of agent in passive]

Related to the lexical synonyms of various kinds, and used for the same purposes, are Hus's methods of updating the texts he is quoting by the use of a wide range of syntactic synonyms, the area in which one might sometimes be tempted to see Hus the transformationalist. Examples:

den slavný židův (*neb židovský*) 160/6 [gen.pl. > adj.; eliminates ambiguity]
dvů stů peněz chlebové (*za dvě stě peněz chleba*) *nestačí jim* 160/11 [attribute in genitive replaced by prepositional qualifier to produce more familiar syntax]
Abraham umřel jest i proroci (*t. zemřeli sú*) 168/14-15 [avoids possible ambiguity after preceding singular verb]
a vzšed (*to věz kdy jest vzešlo*) 126/8 [transgressive phrase transformed into full clause]
když se postil (*nic nejeda ani piv*) 140/2-3 [opposite solution to previous]
vody vínem učiněné (*vína z vody učiněného*) 90/14 [inversion of (deep) subject and predicate]
Dcerka má zle se od d'ábla trápí (*neb dcerku mů zle d'ábel trápí*) 149/6 [version of 'passive > active' transformation with FSP preserved]
 ...*že diete Belzebubem vymietati mě* (*t. že vymietám*) *d'ábly* 154/11-2 [transformation from opaque accusative+infinitive construction to clause]

- horších sebe* (*neb než jest on*) 155/29 [archaic to progressive comparative construction]
pro bázeň židův (*pro strach, aby jim neučinili jako místru*) 206/2-3 [disambiguates genitive]
měj mě vymluvena (*t. vyluv mě, pros za mě boha*) 294/10 [archaic short accusative in passive participle replaced by more modern, active construction]
deset uzdravení sú (*neb uzdraveno jich*) *a devět kde jsú* (*neb jich jest*)? 378/10-12 [ancient v. modern patterns of numeral syntax]
vy malé viery (*t. jenž jste malé viery*) 383/18-19 [overrides constraint against genitive phrase qualifying pronoun]
všel...jest chleba 397/2 > *všel...jieti chleba* 397-8/27-28 [supine replaced by infinitive]
dieky učini (*chválu bohu vzdal*) 160/18 [general made specific; obsolescent aorist replaced by progressive past tense]
chvála má nic nemá (*totišto jest marná*) 168/9 [explication]
lúpeže jeho (*kteréž on lúpežem drží*) 154/20 [resolves polysemy]
rány vloživše (*to jest ranivše*) 367/24 [univerbization]

And there are yet other types, especially involving conjunctions and interjections.

2. Hus the onomast

Hus takes great pains over the handling of place-names in particular. Linguistically, the problems are threefold: 1. what a particular place-name means (or is said to mean), but especially if this has some particular bearing on the parable being expounded; sometimes mere etymology suffices; 2. whether or not it declines (or could decline) in Czech; and 3. how to relate first occurrences that are adjectival derivatives of a base noun. For the first we have, for example:

- Nazaret slove ktvúcí. A který květ viece v ctnosti kvetl než Ježíš?* 137/186-7
„Galilea,“ die svatý Řehoř, „přestúpenie vykládá sě. Neb již vykupitel náš od trpenie k z mrtvých vstání, od smrti k životu, od múky k óslavě přestúpil jest..... 187/95ff
... v Kafarnaum, t. v rozkoši; neb Kafarnaum vykládá sě pole tučnosti, v nížto člověk pasa sě, jest nemocen částo, ne toliko na duši, ale i na těle... 422/131ff
Jeruzalém vykládá sě vidění pokoje ... 364/285
Jericho vykládá sě neustavičnost neb měnění neb proměna 374/287

and others.

When he attempts actual etymologies, Hus may be on safe ground:

- ... města Tiberias, kteréžto jest ... ustaveno ke cti ciesaře, jenž jest slúl Tiberius* 161/55-56

or on much less safe ground:

Tu věz vedlé rozumu duchovníeho, že Genezaret jezero znamená neustavičnost tohoto bydlá v světě, v němž, jako na moři, jednak jest vzdvihnutie větrem pýchy, jednak dolův spadnutie psotů. Protož dobře slove Genezaret, to jest počátek urozenie; neb ihned v břiše matky počíná se tato psota. Také smrdí jako moře... 320/51ff

When it comes to declining place-names — and other biblical proper names — Hus generally adopts the policy of not forcing them into declensional patterns that would be less than certainly ideal and instead uses, especially in the pericopes, a relevant Czech *genus proximum* which he can then put in the case required. Hence:

do Kafarnaum (toho města) 97/9
v Kana galilejské (v tom městečku té krajinky) 90/1-2
v Israel (v židovském lidu) 97/19
k Jericho (městečku) 132/9
do Jericho (do toho města) 367/22

Even where a place-name is declined, its status is indicated to the Czech reader in the same way:

mezi Samarí (tú zemú) a mezi Galileí (tú zemú) 378/1-2

And the same general method is also applied to indicate what place (as a noun) is referred to when Hus is forced first to use adjectives derived from them:

tiberiadské (toho města Tiberias) 160/2
do krajin tyrských (Tyru toho města) 149/2
z krajin tyrských (toho města Tyrus) 360/1
mezi krajinami dekapolskými (vlasti Dekapolis řečené) 360/3

Personal names are sometimes treated similarly, as in:

třetíe Anna..., jenž jest byla dcera Fanuel tak řečeného, muže, jenž jest posel z pokolenie Asser tak řečeného ... 83/101-02
...syny Zebedei (toho, jenž slůl Zebedeus) 319/18-19

The one major excursion in the realm of proper names concerns Doubting Thomas:

Tomáš...jenž slove u viře pochybující.. . Tu věz, že v latinském čtení stojí „didymus“. To vykládají jedni: u viře pochybující, jakož jest tak, že více jest než který z svatých apoštolův o vzkříšení Kristově pochyboval; druzí vykládají „didymus“, to jest bližnec, pro to, že by byl z pokolenie Benjamin, že slůl je bližnec 213/276ff
 [concerning the double interpretation of ‘didymus’, as ‘of two minds’ or ‘twin’]

3. Hus the general lexicographer and etymologist

Hus is much given to providing actual definitions (some effectively among the synonym pairs quoted earlier) of many terms used, either in the sources he is quoting, or by himself. Some are quite straightforward, such as:

žernov osličí — jímž osel neb oslice méle obilé — ... 326/106 [millstone]
Přieteli vzieti krádež jest, kostel lstíti svatokrádežstvie jest. 268/118 [theft, sacrilege]
obžil jest. Co jest: obžil jest? Byv na těle mrtev, již živ jest a již neumře 189/151-2
 [come to life]
nájemník neb námezdník jest ten, kterýž pro časnú neb pro tělestnú potřebu slúží někomu, aby od něho vzal. A tak slove nájemník, že na nájmu slúží, neb námezdník, že ze mzdy tělestné slúží. 217/63ff [hireling]
bližnec slove ten, který sě sám druhý neb sám třetí urodí pojednú od jedné matky 213/281-2 [twin, triplet]
místři a zákonníci: místři slúli sú ti, jenž sú zákon boží vykládali lidu, kterak mají rozuměti. Ale zákonníci slúli ti, kteříž, nad obec vytrhše sě zvláštním obyčejem, i rúcho sú měli zvláštnie i obyčejné jiné 323/23-25 [scribes and pharisees]

Sometimes he adds etymologies to his definitions, based typically on decomposition...:

všetky živočichy, to jest všecky věci, jenž sú živé a mají čich, jímž mohou číti, jako sú ryby, ptáci, hovada, psi a tak i jiné s čichy věci 181/154-56 [animals]
A česky slove dobře malomocenstvie a od něho člověk malomocný; nebo málo móż člověk, dokud jest v hříše smrtedlném... Protož německy dobře slove aussecik, to jest ven vysazený z svaté obce. 98/47ff [leprosy] (note here the combination of etymology, theology and the praise of German for the theological fitness to metaphorical use of its word for leprosy)

... though more often than not the outcome is such as must raise a smile on more modern lips:

„Dnú trpćieho“ položil sem, že mi sě lépe zdá než dnú zlámaného; neb neviem, byl-li jest zlámán, ale viem, že jest trpěl. A druží Čechové řekli by pokostnieho neb pokostníka od pokostnice té nemoci, jíž říkají pokostnice, že po kostech sě tluče; a obecně slove dna. 412/33 [gout; palsy]
člověk jeden vodnotelný (t. maje tu nemoc, jenž slove vodné tele) 397/4 [dropsy] (this quotation is followed, p.398/56ff, by an almost encyclopedic account of dropsy; Hus as encyclopedist would be another topic for discussion)
Rceme jí [lucerně] česky světlnice, pro to, že v ní vietř světlu nice neb nic neuškodí 307/196 (the particular use of the imperative *rceme* must indicate that this is more

‘composition’ than decomposition, and therefore Hus’s own invention — is this evidence of a sense of humour?)

Equally mixed are the results of Hus’s etymologizing where foreign expressions are concerned. He can rely on his Latin well enough, as in:

příchod (Kristův): říkajíce Čechové advent po latinské řeči; nebo latíně adventus česky slove příchod neb navštívenie... A tak již vešken ten čas nazývají advent... 61/21ff [advent]

or

I co se to miení, že ihned skóro po procesí na mši čteme pašiji, to jest umučenie neb o umučení; neb passio latíně česky jest umučenie 180/106-08 [passion]

but where a Latin form is already spurious — in the following example a misconstruction of the Greek — Hus’s Czech explanation is also inevitably flawed:

*„A předběh, vstúpil jest na dřevo fíkové.“ Latíně stojí, že vstúpil jest na dřevo neb na štěp „sykomorum“. A jest slovo vzaté z řeči řecké; neb řecké sykos řečeno jest fík; i říkají tomu dřevu bláznivý fík, latíně fikus fatua. 445/131ff [sycomore as fig-tree, based on a misinterpretation of the second half of the word, where *moron* = black mulberry]*

There are other infelicities at points where Latin meets Czech, as in:

lucifer...učinil se již jest luciper [a Czech form], to jest byv jasný, jest v temnostech 128/66-67 [to explain Lucifer as a fallen angel].

Hus’s few definitions or explanations (not etymologies proper) of Hebrew expressions are equally mixed. The first, though in essence accurate, would give the impression that Hebrew is capable of considerable density of meaning in a mere three syllables:

A oboji sú volali řkúce: „Osanna“ židovsky, to jest: „Oj, prosíme, spas ny skrze syna Davidova, požehnany, jenž přišel jest ve jméno božie!“ 180/126-28 [Hosanna]

while the second seeks to account for an item that is inevitably uncertain, but takes Hus, at second-hand from St Augustin, deep into the realm of comparative paralanguage or body language:

Tu věz, že rácha, jakož die svatý Jeroným, židovské jest slovo a tolik jest řečeno z hněvu, jako by řekl bezmozký. Ale svatý Augustin die, že rácha jest znamenie, jímž člověk ukáže hněv srdečný. Jako očí mrdnutie, nosu ukřivenie neb úst ukřivenie. A

tak, když kto hněv ukazuje, řka bú neb mrňau neb kterak kolivěk jinak, neb očima ukáže, neb jazyk vyplazí, usta ukříví, neb pipek, jiní říkají cfbek proti komu učiní, ten svému bratru říká rácha a jest hoden odsúzenie. 327/146 [Mat. 5/22: Raca]

Most of these problems are aspects of Hus's translating work.

4. Hus the practising translator

Even without resorting to etymologies, Hus makes great use of the Latin or Greek of his source texts either to justify his own Czech wording or to explain why no particular Czech wording can be deemed either accurate or adequate. Most widespread is the use of Latin synonyms (usually bracketed) to Czech expressions, used in the same manner as the Czech pairings described earlier. Or the Czech may follow the Latin. For example:

jednostajné penieze (singulos denarios - neb rovné penieze) [they received every man a penny] 117/18

tajemstvie (mysterium) 126/11

A když vzroste zelina (herba, id est zelina neb v tomto čtení herba pšeničné osenie) 110/5 [when the blade was sprung up]

v zkažení - in vastitate 348/61

drže hrdléše - strangulabat 427/137-8

tu figuru, to jest to podobenstvie... 281/294

Just occasionally, German is the language of reference:

na radnici, po německu řkúce na rathauze 114/157

which leads to an assumption of the greater familiarity of the German word, which Hus may be implicitly seeking to replace.

We also find *ad hoc* uses of Czech words with equally *ad hoc* definitions, as in:

vládaři! ...vládaře svatby, jenž od Řekóv slove architriclinus 93/97-99

čtverověččie, to jest čtyřkrát věččie, latíně „quadruplum“ i.e. a calque translation 447/209 [fourfold]

Sometimes Hus allows for more than one Czech interpretation of a Latin word:

nepravost...jenž latíně slove „nequicia“, a dieš-li zlost, neshřešíš 434/110-11 [wickedness]

Perhaps more important than Hus's problems with single words are his tribulations over expressions that require either more than one word in Czech (to one only in Latin), or cases where it is grammar, rather than lexis that causes him difficulties as translator. The main example of the former is how to cope with 'publicans', which he elects consistently to translate as *zjevní hříšníci*, but which then stands awkwardly in the recurrent 'publicans and sinners' — *zjevní hříšníci a hříšníci*. The nub of the problem is in his efforts at calquing (*zjevní hříšníci* = approx. 'public sinners'), so any publicly visible sinner falls under this head, not merely tax-gatherers, toll-gate keepers and other public servants. Another example is 'tribute money' — *peniez platný*, which is quoted in Latin from Matthew and Luke, then given a Czech definition:

svatý Matúš ted' die „numisma“ a svatý Lukáš die „denarius“, a to jest peniez, ježž sú měli dávati kazdé léto ciesaři, na němž byl jest obraz cesařov a napsanie...
434/127ff

The big problem on the grammatical front is that of the Latin passive and how to translate it into Czech. The example is a familiar one, often quoted to illustrate the re-evaluation that has taken place between the present and past passive forms in Czech, the notorious ambiguity of the Czech reflexive passive — even in Hus's day — and the lack of formal equivalence between the Latin and Czech repertoires for the expression of the passive:

nesúdie ho ... latíne tu stojí „non iudicatur“ a toho slova česky jedniem slovom podobně k rozumu nemohu vyložiti. Neb řekl-li bych non iudicatur: nesúdí se, to slovo táhne k jinému rozumu. Pakli bych řekl: nenie súzen, to jest: non est iudicatus. I zdálo mi se lépe říci, že, ktož věří, „nesúdie ho“. Pakli komu se lépe co zdá neb výklad nahodí, chvála bohu, rád sem tomu. 262/88ff

There is one point where Hus the translator offers a linguistic comment about Czech, but pointing to a Latin source, which perhaps entitles us to see even Hus the phonetician. This is in the simple

„vstúpila sta“ latíne vzní: vzhóru sta šla [they went up] 356/37ff

While the sense of 'up' is given due theological justification, why mention the linguistic form of the Czech at all? I would suggest that the reason is that the Czech prefix meaning 'up', namely *vz-*, which occurs much more widely throughout the text than it does in modern Czech, would, in 'vzstúpila', produce a verb sounding indistinguishable from *vstúpila* (allowing for *z/s* assimilation). The inference is that the former is not useful, while the latter is ambiguous, hence the addition of the literal translation of the (unquoted) Latin.

More importantly, and more frequently, Hus digresses where his, or another's,

translation is open to dispute. In most cases it is a matter of his defending his particular solution to a passage. Thus others may be simply in error, as in:

Bud' čist. Latíně stojí mundare a mnějí nedoučení, to slovo by tolik v tom místě vznělo jako očistiti; ale nemá tak býti vyloženo. 99/69-71 ['Thou canst make me clean']

Or a change of conjunction, or tense, may simply make better sense in Czech, as Hus claims in:

„Pane, dcera má nyní umřela jest. Protož pod', vlož ruku na ni a budeť živa.“ Tu věz, žeť latíně stojí „sed veni“, a to slovice „sed“ česky vzní jako to slovo „ale“, a však v tomto místě lépe příleží, aby bylo řečeno česky „protož pod'“. „Protož,“ to věz, že jest nyní umřela, „pod' a vlož ruku na ni.“ Pakli chceš řéci „ale“, tehdy musieš takto více dorozuměti: „Pane, dcera má nyní umřela jest,“ ale, doslyš: tobě ufám jedné, „pod', vlož ruku na ni, a budeť živa.“ 438/26ff [Mat. 9/18 'but']

or:

„I poslali sú jemu.“ Latíně stojí „mittunt“, to jest posielají, ale že česky nedobře slušie a pravda jest, že sú poslali jemu učedlníky své, protož bez újmy položil sem „i poslali sú“. 432/43ff [they sent out]

Or again there might be awkward polysemy in a source language, hence (using St Jerome as his authority) Hus says:

Die výklad: „Slúžiti zboží jest boha zapřieti.“ A věz že v latinském čtení stojí „mammone“. Die svatý Jeroným, že řečí syrskou mammona jest zboží a také Mammon jest ďábel, ten, kterýž zbožím lidi vede v hříech. I zda mi sě, že sem měl položiti ve čtení: Nemůžete slúžiti bohu a mammone a neb zboží. 387/139ff

Several of Hus's problems with translation are connected, as has been implicit in one or two of the previous examples, with alien *realia*. This is an area where the lexicologist and translator becomes encyclopedist. We find him discussing:

i) the physical geography of the Holy Land:

„... přišel jest do Nazaret ...“ Latíně vzní, že „sstúpil jest“ pro to, že Jeruzalém výše sedí než Nazaret. 88/114ff

which at the same time shows his awareness of the slight freedom (in fact modernization) of the text in his rendering;

v hlubokosti mořské 306/107 ['in the depth of the sea']

This passage, concerning where sinners, with millstones round their necks, should be deposited, is duly translated, but it also shows Hus again at his humorous best, largely because *my moře nemáme*; if the Czechs were to drown all their sinners, millstones and all, by throwing them in the only available waters, streams, there would be serious blockages and lakes would form. 326/112

ii) domestic utensils in the Holy Land and the weights and measures associated with them:

„Bieše tu šesť stúdvíc“ neb kádí neb čberov; jistého jména neviem. Neb latinníci vzeli sú to slovo ydria od Řekov; a slove ydria orudie k vodě připravené. A tak těch šest orudí buďte stúvvy, kádě, sudové, čberové, vědra, kbelíkové, lahvice neb bány. 92/68ff [waterpots]

In the discussion that follows Hus goes on to confess his ignorance of the weights and measures in use in the Holy Land (*metreta jest slovo řecké a v jedné vlasti sú jiné miery a v druhé jiné*), concluding that it does not matter anyway, since: *My v Čechách nesjednáváme se v měrách, nébrž v jednom městě v Praze jiná měřice jest na Novém Městě a jiná na Malé Straně (92/81ff).*

Also: *...rojžhla by světlo. Latně „lucerna“ stojí a slove orudie koží neb plátnem neb jinú věcí oblečené, v němž světlo od větra nemož býti uhašeno. Rceme jí česky světlnice, pro to, že v ní vietr světlu nice neb nic neuškodí. 307/194ff*

Similarly, in a quotation from St Gregory: *Jistě světlnice světlo v óbleči — in testa — jest (308/211-12).*

iii) Levantine units of currency:

„deset tisícov hřiven.“ Tu věz, že latně stojí talentum a znamená v penězích největší ráz, jenž vedlé rozličných zemí jinak a jinak se miení. Protož já česky neumím lépe říci talentum než hřivna. A ta se hned miení v Čechách. 426/71

iv) Oriental fabrics:

To věz, že položil sem „zlatohlav“. Latně stojí purpura, jenž, jako die svatý Beda, jest rúcho barvené rybí krví... A že v Čechách nebývá, neumíme ho právě jmenovati.... [similarly on biele plátno for bissus — only made from white Egyptian linen — Czech, German and Latin are all driven to use loan-words or ad hoc translations] 284/63ff

v) the flora of Palestine and elsewhere:

Tu věz, že latíně stojí „znamenajte lilia.“ Český neumíme lilium jmenovati, jenž jest květ velmĕ bílý, jehož bělosti nemohl jest Šalomún na svém rúše dosáhnúti. A zdá mi se, že skrz lilium miení Kristus kvietie rozličné; protož řekl jest „lilia“, t. mnohá kvietie, jakožto lilium, róži, fiolu a jiné pěkné kvietie. Protož die svatý Augustin: „Které hedvábie, která králová purpura, které zmalování tkadlnic mŏž se kvietí přirovnati? Co se tak červená jako róže? Co se tak bělé jako lilium? A fiolu která přesáhá purpura?“ 389/229ff

vi) the Passover (and specifically the need for its not being confused with Easter):

„A bieše blízky beránka den slavný.“ Ve čtení latinském stojí „paška“ a to slovo ani jest latinské, ani řecké, ani židovské, než vzato jest některak z řeči židovské. A tolik se die „paška“ česky „přestúpenie“. Proto, že židóm pán bŏh přikázal, vyved je z ejipské země z pohanského násilí přes moře, aby beránka jedli a slavný hod měli. A na tom hodu beránka jest teď zmienka. A nezdá mi se, by „paška“ v tomto čtení česky dobře bylo vyloženo velikonoční hod; neb velikonoční hod v ten čas ještě nebyl. A bychom také znamenali, že velika noc slove noc, v níž jest velikú věc učinil veliký Kristus, z mrtvých vstav, tehdy bychom rozuměli, že „paška“ v tom miestě neslove velika noc, ale hod beránka, jakož sem řekl. 161-62/60ff.

Another reason, not given by Hus, but identified by Robert Pynsent,⁵ why *paška* has had to be expounded, rather than inappropriately translated or left as a loan-word, is the existence at the time of a homonym in the meaning ‘hammer’, ‘smith’.

Finally to return to two less apparent aspects of Hus as a linguist in the broadest sense:

4. Hus the (theoretical) speech therapist

This is a minor matter and relates to the sermon on Jesus’s restoration of speech to the deaf-mute. What it does reveal, however, is Hus’s understanding of the relationship between hearing and speech:

A že každý od přirozenie hluchý jest němý — neb poňavadž nemŏž slyšeti ihned od narozenie, také nemŏž se naučiti mluvíti, a tak po chluchosti vleče se němota tak dlúho bude [člověk] němý, kterak dlúho bude hluchý 362/64ff

⁵ In the discussion at the conference where this paper was presented.

5. Hus the nascent aspectologist

Hus is writing at a time when the change of the Czech verbal system with a basis in tense to one based unequivocally on aspect was not yet complete. It is not here suggested that he understood exactly how the evolving aspectual opposition worked, but it was already assertive enough to show through in two main ways.

First, as part of the general tendency of the sermons to be written in straightforward Czech — a Czech more immediately accessible to his readers and listeners than the starchy, archaizing biblical texts from which he is quoting — Hus uses in his discourse almost exclusively Czech past-tense forms of the type which we would recognize today, dispensing very largely with the aorist and imperfect. The simplicity of the past tense is that one formal type can convey adequately either aspect.

And secondly, there are scattered points where, without further comment, Hus suggests an alternative reading to a passage in which the alternant is the same verb, but in what we would now recognize as the opposite aspect to the one quoted, or the one merely predictable from the Latin by one-to-one equivalences. Thus in:

A když přijde, nalezna jej chvoštíšti (neb metlami) vyčistěn a okrašen, i jde a přijímá (assumit neb přijme) jiných sedm duchův ... 154/27ff

assumit is an unmarked present-tense form, and so is *přijímá*, yet in the verbs that have gone before there is a recognisable use of the non-topical, or ‘perfective’, present, which in twentieth-century Czech (and clearly too in Hus’s day) would predict the ‘perfective present’ form which he suggests in the brackets. In another example, he takes the bull by the horns and goes straight for a perfective present, *vzloží*, pointing out only secondarily that the Latin would appear to predict the choice of the ‘actual’ present *vkládá*:

„A když ji nalezne, vzloží ji,“ latíně stojí „imponit“, t. vkládá „na rameně své.“ 305/114ff

No less telling is Hus’s suggestion that ‘rendering unto Caesar that which is Caesar’s’ etc. should be a matter of principle (conveyed in Czech by the imperfective imperative), rather than a one-off event (perfective); the suggestion is, however, merely implicit in his insertion of the iterative imperfective form in the middle of the quotation, which itself uses the perfective:

„dajte“ neb dávajte „ciesaři ty věci, které sú ciesařovy a které sú božie, bohu“ 432/36f

Thus Hus's sensitivity to aspectual distinctions works both ways. There is one final snippet of evidence pointing in the same general direction in the passage:

drže hrdléše — strangulabat — neb hrdlováše neb nuzieše neb dusieše 427/137-8

in which Hus suggests the synonym *hrdlováše* (3rd sg. imperfect of *hrdlovati* 'strangle') following the quoted *hrdléše* (the equivalent form of *hrdliti*). Gebauer⁶ treats the former as both imperfective and iterative of the latter, which he also describes as imperfective. However, the same formal relationship (suffixes *-ovati* and *-iti*) later become a common representation of the core aspectual opposition. Thus Hus may already have felt *hrdlovati* (unconsciously and obviously not in these terms) to be more 'imperfective' and therefore more appropriate to use in the still surviving imperfect tense than the shorter *hrdliti*, which, as perhaps more 'perfective-like', was less appropriate to use in that tense. At the very least it is safe to say that Hus is using *hrdlováše* purely and simply as imperfective, as befits the (Latin imperfect) context.

Conclusion

There was never any question whether Hus was or was not a linguist. The evidence of this text is that he was one body and soul, even if the prime motivation was not derived from any linguistic theory as such, beyond a view that might be shared by our own campaigners for plain English. Moreover, if we look aside from such fanciful items as the motivation for, say, *světlnice*, we would have to conclude that he was a linguist of considerable breadth and even, for his time, sophistication.

⁶ *Slovník staročeský*, Prague, 1970, pp.490-91.

THE LANGUAGE OF ČAPEK-CHOD'S *TURBINA*:¹

The impulse for the following analysis of one of the best-known works of Karel Matěj Čapek-Chod (1860-1927), the novel *Turbina* (1916), was Miroslav Petříček's afterword to the 1969 edition, in which he says:

Deeply marked by the *genre*-Realist and Naturalist trends of the end of the 19th century, the work of Čapek-Chod stands out amid the post-war artistic ferment as something *bizarrely non-homogeneous* alongside the searching for ideas and the forays into new forms that we find in the prose of the day, he gives the impression of being *out-of-date, clumsy, odd-man-outish*. What is remarkable, however, is that despite being orientated basically towards the past, his work is *not felt*, in the literary context, *as something definitely passé* (unlike that of, say, Růžena Jesenská [1863-1940], V.K. Jeřábek [1859-1946] and other contemporaries of Čapek-Chod). It is capable of maintaining contact with the literature of the present, albeit in an almost *eccentrically* original sense.² (My italics)

If one reads *Turbina* concentrating on the language, one concludes that anything 'bizarrely non-homogeneous', 'out-of-date' or 'eccentrically original' must lie in the language, since neither the plot nor the ideas that come out of it are so extreme as to merit such labels.

As with another of Čapek-Chod's major works, *Antonín Vondřejc* (1917-18), so too with *Turbina* there is a great wealth of linguistic variety. External to Czech there is the English of Mr Mour (far more correctly reproduced than is commonly the case with Czech writers, though it seems unlikely that Mour would really address young Nezmara as

¹ Reprinted with amendments from R. B. Pynsent (ed.): *Karel Matěj Čapek-Chod: A Symposium*, London, 1985, pp.242-59. The volume, a major English-language resource on a major Czech writer who may be said to have been long overdue for extended critical appraisal, will be referred to below as 'Pynsent: *A Symposium*'.

² Miroslav Petříček: 'O autorovi *Turbina*', in *Turbina*, 12th edn, Prague, 1969, p.383. This is the edition from which all the following examples and quotations are taken.

'darling', p.346), there is the Prague German of Frau Maynau, there is the similar European Jewish German of Leib Blumenduft with its admixture of Hebrew or Yiddish lexical items, and there is a snatch of French in a quotation from La Fontaine (the variety of non-Czech insertions in *Antonín Vondřejc* is greater still). Within the Czech used there is also considerable internal variety of dialect and register, from the inner-city urban Czech of the riverside proletariat, through teenage slang, various permutations of colloquial Czech to the high-style literary Czech of the educated and would-be educated, and from neutral discourse through the language of business, the language of the gossip columnist to the language of formal lectures. Almost any of these is then further enriched by the import of specialist vocabulary from a whole variety of fields: music, astronomy, technology, philosophy or architecture. Rarely is this additional input at all forced, i.e. it sits naturally in the narrative or dialogue in which it occurs, but if taken too far, as in the case of Zouplna's 'lecture' to Maria on Jupiter, what is parody may appear didactic. It is doubtless because of passages like that that Čapek-Chod is sometimes accused of an inability to shed his journalistic alter ego, and why Naughton accuses some of his characters of preaching.³

Reading the novel, one is inevitably struck by the signals Čapek-Chod gives to indicate that he is departing from an essentially constant, neutral usage. This relates in particular to utterances in direct speech, which, generally speaking, is in a language which shares most or all of the features which characterize the narrative outside inverted commas. Those utterances which conspicuously depart from what is the norm for the book are frequently annotated metalinguistically by such glosses as *pobřežní čeština* 'the Czech of the embankment' (p. 14), *směs pražské němčiny s opovrženým žargonem* 'a mixture of Prague High German and abominated slang' (p. 9), *zavulgarisovala si Tynda* 'Tynda said, going common' (p.180), *nejpůvodnější pražština* 'earthiest Pragois' (p. 207), *sportovní hantýrka* 'sporting slang' (p. 46), etc. And if a character has been speaking in German, which the reader might have forgotten because the speech is actually transmitted in Czech, then this will be restated. This reminder then also serves as a signal for that section of the text to be ignored in any analysis such as the present; it is masquerading as a translation and therefore need not be subject to the rules which govern the rest of the text. While it is unlikely that Čapek-Chod imagined that anyone might sit down to analyse his language, it does seem appropriate, with someone of his sensitivity and appreciation of language, to point up those sections which represent a departure from what he takes to be his norm.

To begin to establish what that norm is, and to try to say a little more than that Čapek-Chod is 'orientated basically towards the past', it seems not unreasonable to attempt a description of the grammar and lexis *in toto*. Some instructive work on the latter has

³ J.D. Naughton: 'Psychology and determinism in *Jindrové*' in Pynsent: *A Symposium*, pp.161-69, especially p.166.

already been undertaken, notably by Václav Křístek⁴ and more recently by Jiří Pavelka,⁵ but both were concerned primarily with lexical form and inventory as contributors to style variations. It can however be shown that, taken in conjunction with grammatical features, vocabulary is handled by Čapek-Chod consistently, irrespective of style and largely irrespective of register; in the latter case, however, some lexical items may be the only markers of certain narrower, especially technical, registers. In fact there is some register-mixing, perhaps another version of Pynsent's 'fusion of incompatibles'.⁶

Any 'grammar' of the Czech of *Turbina* would have to include a considerable amount of redundant and not particularly illuminating information, i.e. there would be vast areas of overlap between it and any conventional grammar of the language. Thus instead of attempting such a grammar this essay seeks to pinpoint those areas which are either absent from, or marginal to, the normal scope of a standard grammar, or those which, though thoroughly standard, nevertheless may have some special relevance. The traditional ordering of the description is adhered to as the simplest.

Since this analysis concerns a written text, nothing can be said about phonology, except in the area of those sections of direct speech which are signalled, either in the transcriptions or by one of the author's metalinguistic glosses, and it is proposed to ignore those for the reasons suggested.

In the morphology of the noun there is little of note. In the dative singular of hard masculine nouns the almost universally used form is *-ovi*, but there are occasional uses of *-u*, even where the noun in question is not part of a multiple noun phrase, e.g. *projektantu*, *Prezidentu* (p. 317). In the light of one of the conclusions below this imbalance is a little odd, and more so if one realises that in standard grammars of the period immediately before⁷ and considerably after⁸ the writing of *Turbina*, *-u* and *-ovi* in a single noun were implicitly

⁴ E.g. 'Několik poznámek k adjektivu K.M. Čapka-Choda', *Listy filologické*, 73, 1949, pp.191-97, 259-63; 'O některých rozsahových novotách K. M. Čapka-Choda', *Slovo a slovesnost*, 12, 1950, pp.160-66.

⁵ 'A comparison of the prose works of K.M. Čapek-Chod and Vladislav Vančura' in Pynsent: *A Symposium*, pp.150-60.

⁶ See his 'Čapek-Chod and the grotesque', *ibid.*, pp.181-215.

⁷ E.g. Jan Gebauer: *Mluvnice česká pro školy a ústavy učitelské*, 4th rev. edn, Prague, 1905, pp.48-49.

⁸ E.g. František Trávníček (ed.): *Gebauerova příruční mluvnice jazyka českého pro učitele a studium soukromé*, 5th edn, Prague, 1936, pp.97-99.

in free variation. More striking formal variation in a nominal category is the alternation in the use of the suffixes *-ovic*, *-ova* and *-ová* in feminine surname formation. There is some observance of register difference here, with *-ová* always used after *slečna*, and with some partial acknowledgement of the married/unmarried distinction in the distribution of *-ová/-ova*, but generally the three possibilities are in free variation; the dialectal *-ovic* version does not have dialect status (cf. Stich's discussion of *lebeň* 'skull' in *Kašpar Lén, mstitel*⁹), and its incidence is enhanced by its second use as a family-membership marker, not confined just to surnames, as in *doktorovic* (p. 363). Not a question of variation, but rather one of exploiting potential forms otherwise rarely resorted to is Čapek-Chod's use of such genitive plurals as *tem* 'darknesses' or *set* 'hundreds', the latter functioning as a noun, not a numeral.

Among the adjectives, the most striking feature is the high incidence of short forms, of which more under syntax. Among the pronouns the following points can be made: the accusative singular masculine personal pronoun is almost universally *jej* (with *jejž* to *jenž*). The exceptions (*ho*, *jeho*) in the pages inspected in closer detail¹⁰ occur in quasi-direct speech (p.13, but this is Blumenduft and therefore part of the text which I believe should be ignored in the present type of description), indirect direct speech (p.365, an account of Věna Nezmar's thoughts), and just once in narrative (p.372, a rare exception to the standard *jej*). After a preposition both *-ň* (*naň*, e.g. p.369) and *něho* (e.g. p.365) occur, though the latter seems reserved for the more colloquial registers. The third-person plural possessive pronoun is consistently *jich* (with *jichž* in relative clauses), *jejich* being confined to direct speech (e.g. pp.179, 367). The reflexive pronoun occurs in the short form after a preposition (*před se*, p.13). The pronoun 'all' is generally expressed by *všecek* with an isolated *všečen* on p.186; it is replaced by *celý* only in the expression *celá Praha*. With other pronouns formal variety is fully exploited, hence *touž* and *tutéž*, and *touž* and *toutéž* as accusative and instrumental feminine singular of (*ten-*)*týž*, and *který* or *kterýž* as forms of the relative pronoun, both further alternating with *jenž*. This last seems to be one of the most far-reaching cases of free variation. Statistically, *jenž* occurs approximately as frequently as *který* and *kterýž* taken together, but around the middle of the book *který* becomes the preferred alternative. All three can occur in the narrative and in direct speech. *Jaký* is also quite frequent, but in this case *jakýž* is only a rare alternative; no conclusion need be drawn from this in isolation, however, since it should probably be analysed in terms of the use of the *-ž* suffix, widespread with many other words in the same general class, e.g. *odkudž*, *kdež*, *kdož*, *od čehož* etc., which mostly occur as alternatives to forms without *-ž*.

⁹ In his essay, 'The Czech Naturalist revenge and its relationship to the literary tradition: *Kašpar Lén, mstitel*' in Pynsent: *A Symposium*, pp.82-99, especially p.87.

¹⁰ These are pp.7-21, 178-92 and 358-72 in the edition referred to in Note 2. Most examples and inferences are drawn from here, but many of the items quoted occur elsewhere in the book. All the data would eventually need verifying from the first edition.

It would be unusual to include reference to non-inflecting word classes in a discussion of morphological matters. However, *kdež/kde* etc. have now been mentioned, and it should have become clear by now that I believe the writer is deliberately playing with variation, whether morphological or formal. The non-inflecting word classes do show similar maximum variation, wherever possible.

The extent to which each member of a pair or set of alternatives is used may vary from case to case, from near parity in the case of, for example, *-krát/-kráte* or *krom/kromě* or to statistical dominance of one over another, as with *ani/ni* (the case of *který/kterýž*), to the one isolated, single occurrence of one member, the other being nearly universal, as with *-tě/-ť* (this state of affairs also applies to *kýs/jakýsi*). Formal variation of this kind is closely associated with lexical variation among non-inflected classes, and one area here which would require more detailed study is the relationship between *-tě/-ť*, *-neboť* and *totiž* 'for', and between *neboť* 'because', *ježto* (the preferred member), *poněvadž* and *protože* (isolated); curiously *jelikož* is absent. Other instances of formal and lexical variation exploited in *Turbina* include: *taky/také/taktéž* 'also', *ano/ba* 'indeed', *zdali/zda* 'whether', *jak/kterak* 'how', *by/aby* 'in order to', *-li/jestliže* 'if', *velmi/tuze* 'very', and *-náct/-nácte* '-teen' (in numerals).

In the realm of the verb two features immediately strike the reader of *Turbina*: the variation between the long and short forms of the infinitive, and the frequency of the use of the transgressives. The former is akin to the general exploitation of variation in non-inflecting word classes, but being so widespread, thanks to the very frequency of infinitive constructions, it does permit of some fairly general conclusions. Thus the short form dominates, not surprisingly, in direct speech, but the long form is by no means unknown there, and in various speakers. The long form dominates after modal verbs (except in direct speech), but in *bylo slyšet(i)* and *bylo vidět(i)* 'one could hear/see', the two forms occur roughly equally frequently. Infinitives in *-sti* and *-ci* appear only in those forms, with the exception of *přečíst* 'to read' (p.366) and one or two occurrences of *říc* 'to say/tell' in direct speech. What may perhaps prove instructive on Čapek-Chod's method of work is the fact that at the beginning of the book the ratio of long to short infinitives is approximately 3:1, whereas later on they appear to be much closer to 1:1.¹¹

Čapek-Chod's use of the transgressives is conventional in the sense that there are no abuses of the rules of agreement or of the choice between present or past. Present

¹¹ Any such figures can only be provisional given the partial nature of the present analysis. Variation may be to do with the state of the plot or changes in the direct/indirect speech ratio, but they could also reflect the writer's lack of concentration on the task in hand, the possible nature of which is suggested in the concluding paragraphs.

(imperfective) transgressives are by far the most frequent, in an overall ratio to past transgressives of about 2:1. All classes of verbs are represented and it is undoubtedly the occurrence of such past (perfective) items from consonant-stem verbs as *vešel* 'having entered' (masc. sg.) or *nalezši* 'having found' (fem. sg.) that contribute, at the morphological level, to the 'orientation towards the past' of Čapek-Chod's language as conceived of by Petříček in the quotation earlier. Nevertheless, the transgressive, at the time of writing, was essentially alive and well and available for use. What is more typical of Čapek-Chod is his resort to the occasional transgressive forms that cut across the common aspectual distribution of present and imperfective, past and perfective. These include *zuřiv* 'raging' (past imperfective) and *pozdvihna* 'having lifted' and *pohlédna* 'having looked' (present perfective in the function of past transgressives); only the former type is countenanced by the grammars of the day (see notes 7 and 8). Not surprisingly, transgressives are practically confined to the narrative, the only exception being an occurrence of the adverbialized, syntactically independent *počítajíc* 'counting' (p.181, Tynda speaking). Other changed-status, lexicalized transgressives, such as *vyjma* 'except(-ing)' are also fairly frequent. Passive transgressive constructions are of a similar frequency to the active ones, but here there is more scope for variation (formal, not merely morphological), namely in the presence or, more usually, absence of an auxiliary to support the short passive participle, cf. ... *sám ulehl, stížen jsa pozoruhodnou nehodou* 'he took to his bed alone, being afflicted with a remarkable mischance' (p.371) and *jeden z jinochů, uštknut lekcí Američanovou* 'one of the youths, stung by the American's lesson' (p.187).

Related to the well-domesticated transgressives in Čapek-Chod's use of verb forms are the past active participles derived from them. They are far less frequent, not more than a dozen in the whole work, and include *pohlédnuvší* 'having looked', *představivší* 'having presented', *selhavší* 'having failed', *sestoupivší* 'having descended', and *dodavší* 'having added'.¹² As with *zuřiv* among the transgressives, there is also a case of an imperfective past active participle, *lovivší* 'having hunted' (p.372).

Within the morphology of the verb two other small items remain to be mentioned. The existence of both *je* and *jest* as third-person singular of *být* 'to be' provides the author with another occasion to exploit nominally free variation; both forms occur inside and outside direct speech. And there is, in the morphology of tense, one (?) occurrence of a true pluperfect: *Od památného odpůldne, kdy byl přijal tuto druhou poctu, už se neukázal* 'since

¹² *Turbina* also contains one or two adjectivalized forms of the past tense in the same function, another case of the author's availing himself of a derivational potential beyond the extent to which the language commonly goes. His *zavládlý* 'having taken over' (p.95) is a case in point (T. Orloš in 'Language-types in Čapek-Chod's prose' quotes others; see Pynsent: *A Symposium*, pp.234-41), though it is also used by Šimáček (see *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* [SSJČ]).

the memorable afternoon on which he had received this second honour he had not reappeared' (p.192). The formally related past conditional is very frequent and seems to be used constantly in line with the rules which traditionally govern it. Even here, however, there is some variation of form in the presence or absence of the redundant 'second auxiliary' *býval*.

Discussion of the verb brings us to the verb phrase as the heart of syntax. First it is to be noted that the case taken by the object of a verb is almost invariably the more conservative of the possibilities where there is a choice, hence *napadnout* 'occur to' takes the dative, *vzpomínat* 'remember' and *šetřit* 'spare' take the genitive. Other verbs with specific syntactic peculiarities include *bránit* 'prevent', followed by *aby ne-*, and *doufat* 'hope', which in *Turbina* may take an infinitive as an alternative to a clause with *že*.

Predicates consisting of a copula and adjective or past participle are another area calling for much more detailed study. In the case of past participles it is always the short form that is used, whether the entire predicate is a passive phrase proper or a true copula with a past participle describing a resultant state, or 'perfect passive' construction, as in *jsme objednání* 'we have an appointment' (p.190). The short form also occurs in the 'perfect' type of construction with *mít*, but in direct speech: *mám ... nařízeno* 'I have... been ordered' (p.188), and occasionally with verbs other than *být* in the role of the copula: *žádný hřbet nezůstal neohnut* 'no back remained unbent'. In the context of the true passive there are some occasionally quite striking occurrences which, as with some of the features described earlier, amount to exploiting a possibility that is more theoretical than likely, cf. *byl osyknut* 'he was hissed down' (p.219), [*sl. Tynda*] *mohla jmína byti za nevěstu* '[Miss Tynda] could have been taken for a bride' (p.221).

Short adjectives with the copula are extremely common, in all genders and both numbers. They include not only those which are still in use, such as *zdráva*, *zvědava*, *jisto*, *dlužen*, *laskav*, *mocen* (*slova*),¹³ etc., but many others, including *platno*, *možna*, *žarliv*, *nápadno*, (*ne*)*znateln*,¹⁴ etc., many of which, in the neuter form, may have the function of true predicative adjectives or that of predicatives of the *teplo* '(it is) warm', *obsazeno* '(it is) occupied', etc., type. Just occasionally we find short forms in the accusative agreeing with an existing object, as in (*zapřísahala jej*), *aby ji nechal odjetí samotnu* '(she made him swear) to let her leave alone'. In both functions we also find long adjectives, though it is true that some do not readily lend themselves to use in the short form: *důležitá*, *dokonalá*, *marný*, *plná*, *ozdobný*, *ruměná*,¹⁵ etc., in the nominative, and, for the accusative type: (*starý*

¹³ 'healthy, curious, sure, indebted, kind, capable [of saying a word]'.

¹⁴ 'valid, possible, jealous, conspicuous, [im-]perceptible'.

¹⁵ 'important, perfect, pointless, full, decorative, rosy-cheeked'.

Nezmara myslel), že syna nedoveze domů živého ‘(old Nezmara thought) he wouldn’t get his son home alive’ (precisely Čapek-Chod could well have used *živa* here). The distribution of long and short forms in adjectives in the predicate seems to be governed only partially by semantic considerations, and certainly partially by formal constraints (not even Čapek-Chod would use, for example, *maren*, or might he?), so in effect he is here too operating with the two possibilities as (nearly) free variants. The same would appear to apply in the case of the varying form of the entire predicate phrase, i.e. whether the copula is omitted or not. Countless clauses with a short passive participle occur with the copula deleted, and there is at least one instance of the same with a predicative: *jak u pravých koček nápadno* ‘as is conspicuous with real cats’ (p.12). A cursory inspection suggests that there is no specific semantic, syntactic, rhythmical or other reason for the copula to be retained or deleted.

As short adjectives show a high incidence in the predicate, so does the instrumental case of a predicate noun. However, the usage seems, in the absence of more detailed analysis, to be consistent with the still valid norm, and, as we might expect, it competes with the nominative in analogous sentence types: *erotika jest největším nepřítelem studující ženy* ‘the erotic is the woman student’s worst enemy’ (p.77), but: *podvést svatého muže jest hřích všech hříchů* ‘to deceive a holy man is the sin of sins’ (p.10). The instrumental is also used, however, as a third possibility with a predicative adjective, e.g. *aby tím patrnějším byl krutý vtip přírody* ‘so that the cruel joke of nature was all the more obvious’, which we again find, though less unusually, where the finite verb is not *být*, as in ... *společnost ... , která sama sebe nazývala vznešenou* ‘a society which calls itself refined’ (p.9).

Another fairly common predicate type, obsolescent but exploited quite deliberately, is the debitive dative and infinitive construction: *mučednictví, jež mu bylo podnikati* ‘the martyrdom which he was to undergo’ (p.10), *bylo mu [Vénovi] užasnouti nad zprávou* ‘[Véna] had to be amazed at the news’ (p.301), *proti Boud’ovi bylo kapitánu použití veškeré autority* ‘the captain had to exercise all his authority against Boud’a’ (p.154). Čapek-Chod is perhaps at his creative best in his use of the old related construction *živu býti* ‘to be alive’: nowadays the short adjective in the dative is unmotivated, the phrase has become an idiom, but obsolete (though *SSJČ* still quotes it thanks to an occurrence in Mácha); but in Máňa’s *vrátíš se ke své nejvznešenější lásce..., bez níž ti nelze živu býti* ‘you will go back to your supreme love ..., without which you cannot live’, the motivation is returned through the ‘need’ for dative agreement with *ti*. The phrase is given extra vitality by being placed, for whatever reasons, in direct speech.

A common feature of Čapek-Chod’s syntax is the use of the genitive case after a negative. It is used most widely after negative forms of *mít* and *být* and with nouns of various semantic classes: *neměl potuchy* ‘he had no idea’ (p.364), *nebyla by bývala ničeho měla* ‘she would have had nothing’ (p.182), *nebylo odkladu* (here:) ‘there could be no putting things off’ (p.10), *není ani drožky* ‘not a hackney or hansom in sight’ (p.359), *té (tobolky)*

... *nebylo* 'the pouch was not there' (p.367), *nebylo tu nikoho* 'there was nobody here' (p.8), but the stylistic or register contrast with the competing nominative or accusative is not widely discernible, though cf. *neměl odvahy* 'he had not the courage' (p.8) and the synonymous *neměl kuráž* (p.10). Otherwise it is also widely used after practically any negative verb, with or without a supporting, intensifying *ani*: *sám jí o tom ničeho neřekl* 'he said nothing about it to her himself' (p.191), *pro inženýra nezbylo místa* 'there was no room left for the engineer' (p.187), *nebylo možno představit si sličnější hlavy* 'a prettier head you could not imagine' (p.19), *zdali nevzali škody* 'whether they had (not) suffered any damage' (p.9), *nenalezla klidu* 'she could find no peace' (p.363), *nedostala ze sebe ani jediného tónu* 'she could not produce a single note' (p.358). Again, this use of the negative is in free variation with a competing alternative, the accusative, thus *nevynechal ani jedinou Tyndinu scénu* 'he did not miss a single one of Tynda's scenes', which immediately precedes the last example quoted with the genitive form (p.358), and the combined usage in *neví nic, ani toho nejmenšího* 'he knows nothing, not the slightest thing' (p.363). A refinement of the construction with the genitive after a negative, where the negation is expressed by a device other than *ne-*, comes in: *život můj (by) bez mé vědy ... přestal mít pro mne půvabů* 'my life, without my science, (would) cease to have any attraction for me'. The plural *půvabů* (literally 'charms') here suggests that this is indeed genitive after a negative (implied), rather than the partitive genitive which the singular might have suggested.

At the level of clauses it is worth mentioning the very high incidence of the equivalent of WHIZ-deletion in English, i.e. relative clauses, defining and non-defining, expressed by the appropriate participle. The frequency with which Čapek-Chod resorts to this type of condensing device¹⁶ (not unrelated to the condensation achieved by the use of transgressives; the method can, however, lead him into unusually long and clumsy sentences, as Appendix 2 shows) may be another reason for the charge raised against him that he cannot shake free from his journalistic practices. However, as we have seen, if Čapek-Chod can exploit a formal variation, irrespective of style or register, he will, and in this case it is a fourth device (in addition to the relative pronouns *který*, *kterýž* and *jenž* mentioned above) competing for relative clause formation.

We have already seen some of the variety available among Czech subordinating conjunctions, and used by Čapek-Chod. And we have seen how even the most marginal, obsolete feature is found a slot (the case of *živu býti*). A subordinating conjunction of the same marginality is *an*, which is duly employed, just once, and in a very suitable context, laden with old-fashioned sentimentality.¹⁷ It could of course be seen, yet again, as merely

¹⁶ Such condensation is not always an unqualified success since it can lead to such depths of embedded clauses that the author has to help himself (and the reader) by resorting to the essentially redundant graphic device of the dash; see Appendix 1.

¹⁷ See Appendix 3.

an exploited alternative to some more conventional conjunction, such as *jak* or *když*.

Still among the conjunctions, there is a case in *Turbina* not of a variety of items serving the same function, but of a single item serving a number of distinct functions. This concerns Čapek-Chod's uses of the conjunction *aniž*. In the majority of instances he uses it in its modern function (equivalent to English 'without -ing'), e.g. *doprovodil ji ještě ... k doktorovic bytu, aniž si toho všimla* 'then he saw her to Máňa's flat without her even noticing' (p.363). But there are also sporadic instances of an Old Czech usage (equivalent to English 'nor'), e.g. *tato slova ... nezalekla Američana, aniž jej jinak zneklidnila* 'these words did not frighten the American, nor did they cause him any other disquiet', and one occurrence of a hybrid usage between these two and the two parts of the *ani-ani* 'neither-nor' construction (note that this quotation follows a full-stop, not a comma): *Aniž padlo mezi oběma další nějaké slovo, aniž se tomu jeden či druhý podivil* 'And not a word more passed between them, nor was either one of them surprised thereby' (p.382).

Other features of the grammar of *Turbina* which could be mentioned¹⁸ all point in the same direction as those already described. Either they are apparently residual archaisms which Čapek-Chod was employing while they were still in the linguistic memory of speakers of Czech, or they are deliberately exploited alternations of essentially synonymous possibilities, sometimes ancient and modern side by side, their frequency partly determined by their relative obsolescence, sometimes straightforward free variants on the same synchronic plane. One whole area left aside here, namely word order,¹⁹ might lead to similar conclusions.

It is tempting to suggest that, linguistically at least, this is an experimental novel (how far it is consistent with other Čapek-Chod works remains open to question), and that the core of the experiment lies in the conscious exploitation of all, or nearly all, the variety of grammatical form and function that the language offered the author at the time. The same

¹⁸ E.g. variety in the constructions accompanying the comparative (with the preposition *nad* 'above' or the conjunctions *nežli* or *než* 'than'); the unique occurrence, comparable to that of *živu býti* or *an*, of the last tenuously surviving aorist form in Czech, *vece* 'he said'; or such syntactic quirks of agreement as *znenadání tak náhlého* 'so suddenly' or *každou pulhodiny* 'every half-hour', based on the analytical treatment of compound words.

¹⁹ The particular issues here would include an investigation of adjective-noun/pronoun inversion, the ordering of adverb-adjective-noun phrases, the discernible tendency for adverbs to be placed at the end of the sentence or clause, the strong tendency for verb forms to do likewise, and in particular the position of enclitics; in the last case a direct comparison with the situation in Old Czech, laid out in greatest detail in František Trávníček: *Historická mluvnice česká III: skladba*, Prague, 1956 pp.147ff., would probably be illuminating. Even this would not reveal one apparent word-order rule in *Turbina*, namely that *prý* regularly precedes all other enclitics.

applies to the lexical aspect, where we find not only contemporary vocabulary, but also: obsolescent items of which the Czechs would still be subliminally aware, as with the rarer grammatical features described; dialect items, chiefly from southern Bohemia and Moravia, most of them also occurring in other late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century writers; lexical variation of various kinds, similar to the variation described in morphology and syntax, e.g. *zůstaviti/nechati* 'leave', *svatebčané/svatebníci* 'wedding-party'; and of course the many, especially noun, types derived or rehabilitated by Čapek-Chod, as described by Křístek (see Note 4) and others. It is even tempting to see in the opening pages a clue to the fact that this might indeed be the intention: between pages 7 and 13 there are no less than five variants used to express one and the same idea, which is never to return in the novel later. This is the flourish of hair adorning the sides of the orthodox Jewish face. First we have it as *pejsesy* (p.7), a masculine plural noun (revealed through the genitive plural *pejsesů*); then it is described by the translation paraphrase *rituální kadeře* (p.7); next comes *pajesy* (p.8), then *pejsy* (p.10), alternative forms of which the former is certainly masculine; and finally *pejsesy*, in fact as *bez pejses* (p.13), now either a feminine noun or an undeclined noun of indeterminate gender.

All in all, the language of *Turbina* reminds one of a gemstone in the hands of a fairly talented jewel-cutter: it is resilient, it is essentially of great antiquity, but shapable in the cutter's hands, which are able to reveal its many aspects according to the number of facets which he cares to give it, and it is potentially a thing of beauty through the play of light and colour, i.e. variety, which it displays according to how it is handled (note, incidentally, the range of light and colour terms appearing in the work, from black and white, through the primaries and many of their shades and derivatives, to the *doužkující* 'iridescent' eyes of Armin Frey's Persian cat). But the perfect gemstone, as with perfect beauty of any kind, while it may have a calculable market value, is rather less fascinating (actually 'banal' to use Čapek-Chod's term) than one which has a flaw, a distortion, which arrests the observer, causing him to take a second look. So too the Czech of Čapek-Chod in *Turbina*: syntactically, and also lexically, it does have some occasional striking distortions, but I would like to see in them more than the negligence (*jazyková ledabylost* 'linguistic sloppiness', Petříček) of a slapdash writer; rather indeed the occasional slip of the jewel-cutter's hand.

Postscript

If any case at all has been made here for Čapek-Chod as an author of experimental prose, then this would be some grounds for comparing him with two later Czech writers, Vladislav Vančura (1891-1942)²⁰ and Vladimír Páral (1932-).²¹ One narrower topic for investigation

²⁰ Discussed at the London Čapek-Chod symposium by Jiří Pavelka, see Note 5.

²¹ See D. Short, 'The translation of a Czech experimental novel: a case-study in problems in translation' in Peter Fawcett and Owen Heathcote (eds): *Translation in Performance*,

which immediately suggests itself is how they use the transgressives, a verbal category which refuses to die and one which the modern writer Páral succeeds in using in ways that, in stylistic terms, cannot be replaced by their more normal, less condensed alternatives.²² This is one major contrast with Čapek-Chod in *Turbina*, where the underlying motives and the lack of any previous experimental tradition in prose go against any such refinement. Even without such a tradition behind him, the experiment which Čapek-Chod can be argued to be conducting does in fact work: this is why *Turbina*, and probably other works too, continues to be read, why it 'is not felt ... as something passé', to return to Petříček. *Turbina* is its own turbine, generating and regenerating the power to sustain a readership.

Bradford Occasional Papers, No.10, Bradford, 1990, pp.86-103, on Páral's short novel *Veletrh splněných přání*. On Páral generally, see R.B.Pynsent, *Sex under Socialism: an Essay on the Works of Vladimír Páral*, SSEES Occasional Papers, No.25, London, 1994; there *Veletrh splněných přání* is discussed on pp.9-11.

²² Cf. V.Podhorná: 'Výrazné jazykové prostředky v posledních prózách Vladimíra Párala', *Jazykovědné aktuality*, 19, 1982, pp.29-30.

Appendix 1

Přijal klíč od Blumendufta, blýsknuv po něm v temnu bělizonou svých pronikavých očí, a z jeho pohledu i z nepatrného úsměvu, prozrazeného sotva znalým, pohybem do tenka navoštěných, tykadlovitých knířů tohoto tarakana, žijícího ve své těsné škvíře, ani petrolejkou nikdy neosvětlené — poznal Blumenduft, že krčmáři neušlo, že si Blumenduft ustříhl pejsesy. (p.12)

'He took the key from Blumenduft, flashing the whites of his piercing eyes at him in the darkness, and from his expression and the hint of a smile, betrayed by a scarcely perceptible movement of the antenna-like moustaches, waxed into points, of this cockroach, living in his tight cranny, unlit even by an oil-lamp, Blumenduft could tell that the publican had not failed to notice that Blumenduft had cut off his side-whiskers.'

Appendix 2

Nebot' když do sálu vstoupili, mladý muž, hledící z okna právě naproti dveřím, rychle se otočil, a třebaže ukázal proti světlu jen svou načisto jemnou siluetu, Tynda podle rzivého přísvitu, hrajícího v řídce jeho kštici, stojící jak pažitka, okamžitě poznala šeredu Rudolfa Vážku, autora "Tria v F dur pro klavír, cello a housle, slečně Tyndě Ullikové v hluboké úctě a obdivu věnovaného", vyznamenaného cenou Akademie a ohromujícím polibkem slečny Tyndy. (p.192)

'For when they entered the room, the young man gazing out of the window just opposite the door quickly turned round, and although he revealed against the light only his clear-cut delicate silhouette, Tynda, from the russet half-tone playing in his sparse hair, standing up like spikes, instantly recognized the ugly duckling Rudolf Vážka, author of the "Trio in F major for piano, cello and violin, dedicated in profound respect and admiration to Miss Tynda Ullik", awarded a prize by the academy and a stunning kiss by Miss Tynda.'

Condensation carried to excess is of course not the only shortcoming of such sentences.

Appendix 3

Ovšem to byl vítr, který ve stromech hučel, ale malý Věna měl raději za to, že tak stromy samy, jakož dobře věděl i o cvrčcích v korunách stromů hudoucích, a přece jich jemňoučký cvrkot měl raději za ukolébavku, kterou mu pění stromy, an leží v zádi člunu, dívaje se do hvězd, zatím co tatík protřásá vrš s notnou kletbou. (p.264)

'It was of course the wind, which was sighing in the trees, but Věna junior preferred to think it was the trees themselves, just as he knew about the crickets making music in the treetops, and yet he preferred to think of their delicate trilling as a lullaby sung to him by the trees as he lay in the stern of the boat, gazing up at the stars, while his father shook out his net with a mighty imprecation.'

In a sense, this one sentence typifies the entire novel. From its syntactic and lexical inventories and contrasts, its clause structure and word order it is easy to see why Čapek-Chod was labelled 'bizarrely non-homogeneous' and 'eccentrically original'.

LINGUISTIC AUTHENTICITY IN KAREL ČAPEK'S *CONVERSATIONS WITH TGM*¹

The following remarks were inspired by consideration of the possibility that Karel Čapek's *Hovory s TGM* (Conversations with TGM)² were a different kind of compilation from that as which they are presented, namely a record of more or less off-the-cuff personal, political, historical and philosophical discourses by Masaryk, elicited in the course of conversation by Karel Čapek, friend and adviser of the President, and very much a member of the inter-war Czechoslovak establishment.

There is no strong native Czech tradition of 'conversations' in this sense as a genre outside journalism, where in any case the term *hovory* is not widely used, yet the expression has acquired the status of a literary genre label for a series of interviews.³ In this respect the work is inconsistent to the extent that Parts I and II, 'Věk mladosti' (The Age of Youth) and 'Život a práce' (Life and Work), look at first sight like a confession, whereas Part III, 'Myšlení a život' (Thought and Life), does at least have interpolated questions, promptings or asides from the 'interviewer', Čapek. *Hovory s TGM* is in fact in the literary tradition which goes back to Plato, in whose works philosophical ideas are conveyed pre-eminently through conversation or dialogue. A specific parallel with Plato on other grounds would undoubtedly be attractive to the Czechoslovak establishment: in their different ways Plato and

¹ Originally published in Harry Hanak (ed.): *T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937)*, Volume 3: *Statesman and Cultural Force*, London, 1989, pp.178-99. Reproduced here with minor revisions.

² The translation of the title is mine, as are all other translations in this essay. Other translations do exist, notably (a) *President Masaryk Tells his Story. Recounted by Karel Čapek* (London, 1934), translated by 'DR', 302 pp.; and (b) *Masaryk on Thought and Life: Conversations with Karel Čapek* (London, 1938), translated by M. and R. Weatherall, 214 pp. The former consists of Parts I and II, originally published in Czech in 1928 and 1931, while the later translation consists of Part III, first published in Czech in 1935.

³ See in particular the entry 'Interview' in Štěpán Vlašín (ed.): *Slovník literární teorie*, Prague, 1984, pp.156-57. Close reading of the entry reveals *Hovory s TGM* to be a hybrid of almost all the subgenres currently recognized by the Czechs, but pre-eminently, from what we know of the work's genesis, a set of 'authorized interviews', which should itself guarantee 'authenticity' in one sense.

Masaryk were both authors of a republic; Plato founded his Academy and then taught there for the rest of his life and Masaryk also taught at a number of academic institutions; and Plato's aim in founding the Academy was to train a new type of politician, the philosopher-ruler, the virtues of whom are spelled out in *The Republic*; in Masaryk Czechoslovakia had a ruler who was, and is, widely acclaimed as a philosopher. A more recent and very probable literary model for the *Hovory s TGM* is Goethe's *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, or more correctly Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe* (1836); the roles of Eckermann and Goethe are similar in many respects to those of Čapek and Masaryk, though in the former case Goethe 'deliberately employed Johann Peter Eckermann (1792-1854) as a friend who would converse with him and record his spoken words for posterity'.⁴ Eckermann 'is always anxious to identify himself with his master's opinions' and there is evidence to show 'how cautious we must be in accepting all that Eckermann tells us as the poet's *ipsissima verba*',⁵ a point worth bearing in mind in the context of Čapek and Masaryk.

From what we know of the genesis of *Hovory s TGM* we have to consider it also a biography, since it arose, according to Čapek, in response to a request, addressed to Čapek by a German publisher, for a biography of Masaryk. Čapek was already friendly with Masaryk when this happened (they were staying at Topolčianky together), and although he was loath to undertake a biography as such, he did have Masaryk's agreement to co-operate in giving a biographical slant to Čapek's intended record of their conversations.⁶

Without access to the entire manuscript of *Hovory s TGM* it is impossible to say how far Masaryk did contribute to the text, but some indication can be gained from the reproduction of the opening of 'Na učení' (Apprenticed) given in the posthumous collection *Čtení o T. G. Masarykovi* (Readings on T. G. Masaryk).⁷

⁴ R. Gray: *Goethe, a Critical Introduction*, Cambridge, 1967, p.97.

⁵ J. G. Robertson: *The Life and Work of Goethe 1749-1832*, London, 1932, p.282.

⁶ Their alleged dialogue on the subject is reported in 'Mlčení s T. G. Masarykem' (Silences with TGM), incorporated in the combined edition of *Hovory s TGM* (Prague, 1937), p.321. All page references will be to this edition of *Hovory s TGM*. The equivalent passage is missing from the English editions.

⁷ *Čtení o T. G. Masarykovi*, Prague, 1969; facsimile inserted between pp.144 and 145. This passage is on pp.32-33 of the 1937 edition of *Hovory s TGM*, and its equivalent on pp.55-57 of the English translation. (It is absent from the 1938 translation.) While acknowledging in full the limited utility of such a small sample, I include in the Appendices a transcript of: 1: Čapek's typescript before Masaryk's amendments; 2: ditto with Masaryk's corrections and additions inserted; and 3: the version as published after an unspecified number of revisions by Masaryk or Čapek himself. Gaps are left in anticipation of the later material added, dots indicate later omissions, progressive additions are in italics, and later re-wordings are underlined in the next later version.

In this brief extract we have about 250 words of Čapek's typescript, with a number of amendments in Masaryk's hand in the margin; the 'margin' is almost the entire left-hand half of the page, so Čapek was clearly expecting and hoping that Masaryk's adjustments would be considerable. Masaryk's amendments in fact amount to sixty-six new words of text, a reduction of one phrase from three words to two — *její děvče šlo* 'her girl went' becomes *sestřenice šla* 'my cousin went' — the re-inversion of an inverted adjective-noun phrase (*proutek železný* to *železný proutek* 'iron rod'), and the replacement of one preposition meaning 'to' by another (*do Čejče* becomes *na Čejč*).

The change of preposition suggests perhaps that Čapek had misquoted Masaryk in opting for the more neutral preposition *do* as used with place-names instead of Masaryk's own preferred use of *na*; *na* could reflect either local usage,⁸ or, since the general context of Čejč is that of Masaryk's father's place of employment as a coachman, *na* would be the appropriate preposition if Čejč is used synecdochically for the local estate. Whatever the case, Masaryk as overseer of the text or Čapek as its editor (he is plainly more than the nominal author) is inconsistent, since elsewhere the expression is generally *do Čejče*.⁹

The reinversion of *proutek železný* to *železný proutek* amounts to a tidying-up of the text, there being no conventional reason for the inversion in the first place: *proutek železný* is not a technical term from any taxonomy, nor is there any contrastive or emphatic force in the rod's being precisely of iron. What may have happened is that the specification *železný* had genuinely been given by Masaryk as an afterthought and had stayed in that post-position either as an echo in Čapek's memory, or indeed in his notes, if this was an occasion on which he made some; we know, by implication,¹⁰ that much subsidiary detail on Masaryk's life had to be obtained by direct questioning to supplement his apparently generally unprompted monologues on major issues. Alternatively, the inversion of adjective and noun could be a residue of the nineteenth-century fashion for such inversions, but twentieth-century published editions of Masaryk's works do not reveal any general trend for it to survive into print.

The replacement of *její děvče* 'her girl/lass' by *sestřenice* '(female) cousin' is another

⁸ This is quite a common phenomenon: for example, the village of Nový Hrádek near Náchod is up in the hills and it is quite in the spirit of Czech for the expression of location used with its name to be *na*. Indeed natives will always say *na Hrádek/na Hrádku* 'to/at Hrádek'. Czech speakers from further afield will use *do Nového Hrádku/v Novém Hrádku*. For a brief discussion of the phenomenon see Alena Polívková, *Naše místní jména a jak jich užívat*, Prague, 1985, pp.39-40.

⁹ For example, *Hovory s TGM*, p.8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.321.

instance of tidying-up, since it eliminates a possible ambiguity between *děvče* in the senses of 'daughter' and 'housemaid'. It is quite likely that *její děvče* was actually said, being the kind of informal usage which Masaryk appears frequently to use in parts of the text dealing with his private self.

All Masaryk's actual additions to this part of the text amount to explanations — of why he developed a liking for the blacksmith's trade (it was the craft he had most frequently seen practised), why it had never occurred to him he might one day rise above his station in the village, and what led his parents to send him to Vienna to study metalwork until he was old enough to start teacher-training.

With only minor further alterations¹¹ all these amendments are incorporated in the published version of the conversations, which are to that extent authentically Masaryk's, or met with his approval, in the unamended parts, as potentially his.

In the process of the work's genesis this was not the final stage: 'Full of joy over his material, the writer processed it again. And again he took it for verification. After a suitable time he got it back. With new additions, details and reminiscences.'¹² This, then, accounts for all the further differences between the amended typescript reproduced in *Čtení o T. G. Masarykovi* and the printed version, though there is no saying how many times Čapek tendered it for verification. In the sample, we do have available in three versions evidence that Masaryk's interventions almost double the length of the text, from 250 to 478 words. Small wonder that Čapek began to question the propriety of keeping any monies accruing for the book to himself:

'It won't do,' [the writer = Čapek] protested, 'you've got almost more work with it than I have!'

'What of it?' said the President.

'But how am I to accept the fee?' the writer demurred, weighing the enlarged manuscript in his hand. 'It ought to be at least fifty-fifty, share and share alike.'¹³

¹¹ Later alterations include the conversion of the compound sentence: *byl jsem na handl u tety a sestřenice šla za to k nám* 'I went to stay with my aunt and my cousin came in return to us', to the paratactic version, replacing *a* 'and' by a comma; the conversion of the conjoined *ven a nad ten okruh* 'out and above that circle' to an appositional construction, again by deleting *a*; and a restructuring of the final sentence both in word-order and in the selection of more specific adverbials: *stále* 'all the time' becomes *každý večer* 'every evening', and *světem* 'through the world' becomes *po celém světě* 'all over the world'.

¹² *Hovory s TGM*, 'Jak vznikaly „Hovory“', p.322.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.323.

In the course of the conversations, Masaryk treats a large number of topics and it is therefore not surprising that the substance of some passages, if not a verbatim rendering, may be found elsewhere in his writings on the same topics. Any close similarities could be explained in at least three ways. Either the President was prone to repeat certain anecdotal utterances so frequently that they took on the mere repetitiveness of an elderly man; or he had spoken or written on the same topic sufficiently frequently for a pattern to have been set in the exposition and Čapek, familiar with and sympathetic to the President's views, may have reproduced an authentic version almost subliminally; or Čapek may have resorted to Masaryk's published texts to supplement the points at which his memory failed him. We know from Čapek himself in both 'Jak vznikaly „Hovory“?' (How did the 'Conversations' come about?)¹⁴ and in a manuscript memoir published posthumously in *Čtení o T. G. Masarykovi*,¹⁵ that he was bad at keeping records either on paper or in his head. That is not used to defend any resort to Masaryk's works by Čapek to help himself out with his text, but merely to defend the absence of strict chronology in his writings on Masaryk. While direct quotation — strictly speaking, a form of plagiarism, had it taken place — does not appear to have been resorted to in fact, there are in *Hovory s TGM* at least some passages where either of my first two explanations might apply, if not the third.

I quote one main example: In *Světová revoluce* (World Revolution) Masaryk writes:¹⁶

Po vypuknutí války přišel [Beneš] a hlásil se za volontéra v 'Čase'; tu jsme se vídali častěji. Jednoho dne mne navštívil v bytě před denní poradou v 'Čase'; patrně měl něco vážnějšího. A měl: podle jeho rozpoznání se nemůžeme na válku dívat pasivně, musíme něco dělat; nemá pokoje, chtěl by být činným. Na to já: Ano, já už dělám! Dal jsem mu zprávu a dohodli jsme se hned na

After the outbreak of war Beneš came and offered himself as an improver at *Time*; there we met more often. One day he visited me at my flat before the daily conference at *Time*; something seemed on his mind. And it was: as he saw it we could not look on the war passively, we had to do something; he was restless, he wanted to be active. To which I: Yes, I am doing something! I gave him a report

¹⁴ Ibid., p.319.

¹⁵ *Čtení o T.G. Masarykovi*, p.16.

¹⁶ *Světová revoluce za války a ve válce 1914-1918: vzpomíná a uvažuje T. G. Masaryk*, Prague, 1925, pp. 37-38. The work appeared in English as *The Making of a State: Memories and Observations 1914-1918. An English version, arranged and prepared with an Introduction by Henry Wickham Steed*, London, 1927; the relevant passage is on pp.44-45. I am grateful to Dr James D. Naughton of Oxford for this particularly good illustration of the problem.

cestě do 'Času' přes Letnou. Vzpomínám si scény, když jsme došli nad sestup k Eliščinu mostu: zastavil jsem se, opřel o dřevěné zábradlí a zadíval na Prahu — myšlenky o naší budoucnosti táhly mi hlavou. Libušino proroctví — ale začátek politické akce jsou peníze! Dr Beneš si přepočítal své jmění a slíbil hned několik tisíc korun.

and we at once reached agreement on the way to *Time* across Letná. I recall the scene as we reached the descent to Eliška's Bridge: I stopped, leaned on the wooden railing and gazed upon Prague — ideas about our future passed through my mind. Libuše's prophesy — but the beginning of a political action is money! Dr Beneš calculated his assets and at once promised several thousand crowns.

The same incident is 'retold' by Masaryk to Čapek in a conversation conducted probably about a year after *Světová revoluce* appeared, and reproduced in the second part of *Hovory s TGM*,¹⁷ it was first published in 1931:

Beneše jsem znal z Prahy jako kolegu z university. Začátkem války přišel do redakce 'Času' jako volontér, že chce pracovat novinářsky; viděl jsem, že bere věci za praktický konec. Jednou za mnou šel do bytu — tehdy jsem bydlel proti Chotkovým sadům — ale nedošel, potkali jsme se, já jsem už šel do redakce 'Času'; povídá, že ho tlačí svědomí: že bychom měli něco dělat. Řekl jsem mu: já už dělám. Tehdy jsem se vrátil z první cesty do Holandska. Pak jsme šli spolu do redakce a cestou jsem mu řekl všechno, co jsem dosud dělal a co jsem měl na srdci. Pamatuju se jako dnes, když jsme sestupovali z Letné, tam, co je vidět skoro celou Prahu, mně zatanulo na mysli to Libušino proroctví ... První starost byly ovšem peníze, slíbil hned, že jich něco zaopatří. A přinesl.

I knew Beneš from Prague as a university colleague. At the start of the war he came to the *Time* office as an improver, wanting to work in journalism; I saw he was going about things practically. Once he was coming to see me at the flat — at the time I lived opposite Chotkovy sady — but he did not arrive, we met, I was already on my way to the *Time* office; he said his conscience was plaguing him: that we ought to be doing something. I told him: I already am. I was just back from my first trip to Holland. Then we walked to the office together and on the way I told him all I had done so far and what lay in my heart. I remember as if it were only today how, as we descended from Letná, at the spot where you can see almost the whole of Prague, Libuše's prophesy came to my mind... The first concern was obviously money; he promised at once that he would provide some. And he brought it.

The two passages are unquestionably alike, which would seem fitting for an anecdote

¹⁷ *Hovory s TGM*, pp.149-50. See also the 1934 translation, pp.243-44.

of which the President might reasonably have been fond. The version 'told' to Čapek does, however, contain information not in the earlier one, such as that the meeting did not actually occur at Masaryk's flat, though that was where Beneš had been going;¹⁸ the mere 'report' of the early version is related in the conversation to Masaryk's recent return from Holland; and Beneš's aim in becoming an improver, an unpaid trainee, is given a transparently, rather than merely possibly political motivation. As a minor detail, it is perhaps also worth noting that the cohesion in the Beneš-Masaryk dialogue is greatly strengthened in the Čapek version by the reduction of the distance between *dělat* 'to be doing' and *dělám* 'I am doing' in the middle of the quotation, without the intervention of the, albeit synonymous, *být činným* 'to be active' of Masaryk's own text.

Without access to the manuscript of *Hovory s TGM*, it is not possible to verify how much of the similarity between the two versions is attributable to Masaryk's own amendments and how much Čapek might here, and probably elsewhere, have resorted to previously published accounts of events. In other words, it is impossible to separate the second-hand Masaryk quoted from conversation, the second-hand Masaryk adapted from his

¹⁸ That the meeting was not at the flat is asserted in another, much briefer account of the event in 'Zpráva Ministerské radě' (Report to the Council of Ministers) of 1918. While not published until 1933, i.e. too late for it to have been seen in print by Čapek and therefore not necessarily likely to have had an influence on the *Hovory*, it had existed in transcription from a stenographic record taken at the time, and it is possible that Čapek had access to it. The published version appeared in *Cesta demokracie: Soubor projevů za republiky* (The Road to Democracy: Addresses given during the Republic), Vol. I, Prague, 1933, pp.28-29:

Bylo to po mé první holandské cestě, když se mi přihlásil. Jednou ju do města, potkám Beneše. On je skromný člověk. Mezi námi byl spíše poměr profesora a žáka. Stáli jsme nad Prahou; napřed dělal okolky a pak z něho vylezlo, že se mu zdá, že bychom se měli politicky dát do práce. Já jsem řekl, že už jsem začal a vyprávěl mu o Holandsku. On pak zaopatřil ty peníze. To byl náš první politický kapitál.

'It was after my first trip to Holland that he presented himself. Once, I was on my way to town, I met Beneš. He is a modest man. Our relationship was more like that of a teacher and pupil. We stood there above Prague; first he beat about the bush, then he said he thought that we ought to be getting to work politically. I told him I had already started and explained to him about Holland. He then secured the money. That was our first political capital.'

The demonstrative pronoun *ty* qualifying *peníze* 'money' refers back to the opening sentences of the paragraph preceding this, in which Masaryk describes all the early fund-raising efforts:

Musím se hned zmínit o našich financích. Když jsem šel za hranice, byl jsem bez peněz. Beneš něco našel, nevím už kolik, několik tisíc franků, a s těmi jsem měl začít rebelii.

'I must first mention our finances. When I went abroad I had no money. Beneš got hold of something, I don't remember how much, several thousand francs, and with that I was supposed to start a rebellion.'

Other differences apart, Beneš is here said to have provided francs, while in *Světová revoluce* the reference is to crowns; possible awareness of this minor contradiction in the sources could have led Čapek to refrain from naming the currency at all in *Hovory s TGM*:

own works, and the first-hand Masaryk of any amendments to Čapek's typescript.

To take another, less transparent example: the final section of *Hovory s TGM*, 'Národ (Nation) and 'Láska k národu' (Love for one's Nation), reveals a great deal of similarity of content and range of vocabulary to Part II, 'Národnostní princip' (The Nationality Principle), of *Nová Evropa* (The New Europe).¹⁹ Both contain references to the importance of languages in facilitating communication among nations; both, though in slightly different contexts, stress the need for scientifically conducted demographic studies; both are concerned with the factors that shape a nation and give it individuality; both speak of the inevitability of the formation of pacts grouping nation-states together, as opposed to the recent pattern of large multi-national unit-states. In both we find almost automatic co-occurrences of such ideas as religion and morality, anthropology and ethnology, spiritual and physical,²⁰ not to mention some of the same idiosyncratic vocabulary of Masaryk or the period,²¹ and some very close similarities in the rendering of even core ideas of minimal textual length.²²

Again it would be difficult, if not unwise, to be categorical about the parts played by

¹⁹ *Nová Evropa*, Prague, 1920. Page references here are to the second, undated edition. The work was preceded by its English version, *The New Europe*, Washington, 1918, 'for private circulation'. 'The Principle of Nationality' is on pp.16ff.

²⁰ For instance, 'náboženství a mravnost', *Hovory s TGM*, p.310; 'náboženství, mravy', *Nová Evropa*, p.67, 'mravnost a náboženství', *ibid.*, p.100; 'anthropologické a ethnologické poznatky', *Hovory s TGM*, p.311, 'anthropologové a ethnologové', *Nová Evropa*, pp.68 and 69; 'národové mají svůj charakter duchovní a tělový' (nations have their own spiritual and physical character), *Hovory s TGM*, pp.310-11, 'národové...mají zvláštní společné a fysické a duchovní vlastnosti' (nations...have particular common physical and spiritual attributes), *Nová Evropa*, p.68.

²¹ Notably, in this section, the words *tělový* 'physical' (for the more usual *tělesný*) and *plemeno* 'breed, stock' (here meaning a sub-component of a nation).

²² See the last example in Note 21; also, for example: 'té tak zvané „čisté krve“ není' (there's none of that so-called 'pure blood'), *Hovory s TGM*, p.310; 'krve docela čisté není' (there is no quite pure blood), *Nová Evropa*, p.68; 'národnost a mezinárodnost se nevylučují' (nationism and internationalism are not mutually exclusive), *Hovory s TGM*, p.308; 'Princip národnosti neodporuje vývoji mezinárodnosti' (The principle of nationism is not at variance with the development of internationalism), *Nová Evropa*, p.12 (this is a chapter summary in the Contents), or (from the chapter in question): 'národnostní princip platí současně s principem mezinárodním' (the nation principle applies alongside the international principle), p.91, and 'mezi národnostmi a mezinárodnostmi není protivy' (between nationism and internationalism there is no contradiction), *ibid.* The problem with translating *národnost* is that it is specifically not 'nationalism' as conventionally understood, though the English text does use the latter. If the word were more readily available, *nation-ness* (and with it *international-ness*) would almost be better.

the two men in the final section of *Hovory s TGM* and thus about the precise nature, or measure, of its authenticity. What it is probably safe to suggest is that the eventual community of spirit between them was such (Čapek's early attitude having been rather less unequivocal)²³ that any textual coincidence is actually less than surprising.

The layout of the third section as an interview does give an aura of authenticity, even if, here too, it is impossible, without the manuscript, to assess the extent to which both speakers' words are reproduced faithfully. At best we have probably an equally well, or badly, remembered reproduction, at worst the kind of interview to which a spurious authenticity is lent by the artificial, *ex post facto*, insertion of the interviewer's potential questions or comments. The first two sections amount to the kind of journalistic reconstruction of an interview that conveys something of the ambiance in which it was conducted, portraying the interviewee and freely recording paraphrases of his main ideas with the interpolated questions dropped altogether. A degree of linguistic authenticity is, however, sustained through a variety of devices, and this applies equally well to all three sections and, as far as it is possible to judge, to all other direct quotations ascribed to Masaryk elsewhere in Čapek's writings about the president.

The major contribution to the aura of authenticity is the retention of Masaryk's vocabulary throughout (as opposed to the short-range 'mimicry', governed contextually, as in the 'Národ'/'*Nová Evropa*' case). On the whole, where they can be pinpointed, there are words which may well be used by other writers, but they appear not to be widely used by Čapek in his own writings. They include, for example, *dorostlý*, a morphologically well-formed but rare synonym for *dospělý* 'adult'; *Ježišství*, a key word in Masaryk's theology, based on *Ježíš* 'Jesus' and specifically distinct from Christianity; *po mém rozumu*, a Germanism or Russianism in place of the more usual *podle mého názoru* 'as I see it, to my mind'; *důsledivost* for the more usual *důslednost* 'consequentiality, consistency'. On the negative side, there is at least one typical Masarykian usage to be found *passim* in many of his original works, which either he genuinely happened not to use in conversation with Čapek, or which Čapek missed the opportunity to use as another linguistic item typifying the speaker and so enhancing the authenticity of the work. This refers to the construction *být si jasný v něčem* 'to be clear about something', which appears to conflate two similar phrases, *být si jist něčím* and *mít jasno v něčem*, which Masaryk in general does not use. The vocabulary of Masaryk's dialect background, combined with a number of the true Slovakisms which tend to predominate when Slovakia is his theme, is another area which lends linguistic authenticity. Some are undoubtedly conditioned by context, whether Masaryk actually used them or whether Čapek inserted them for background colour, others may be an effect of the situational context if we recall that the *Conversations* took place in Topoľčianky. They include the ubiquitous *tož*, in a variety of functions (= so, well, ah, but then, or simply an

²³ Čtení o T. G. Masarykovi, p.16.

essentially untranslatable affective particle);²⁴ the less common *ja* in some similar functions; the conjunction *aji* and its variants *baji* and *ba aji* 'and also, and even'; the universal *slunko* 'sun'; the isolated form *čul* (past tense of *čítí* 'to guess, sense, hear', p.169); *palestra* (a stick used in children's games), and *na mrskut chodit* (the Easter Monday custom whereby the boys whip the girls with a plaited wand to obtain Easter eggs, usually *chodit na pomlázku*; both expressions are on p.21, where Masaryk is speaking of his childhood); *pohrablo* (for *pohrabáč*, 'poker', p.23); *lipeň* (for *lipan* 'grayling', p.122, for which Čapek is the only source quoted in the authoritative four-volume dictionary, *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*; if this is the occurrence the lexicographers recorded, the ascription to Čapek is at least dubious); *Olomúc* (for *Olomouc*, the ancient city in North Moravia, p.122); *jafury* 'bilberries' (p.120) and *pekanče* (a sort of dough-cake made of leftover dough and baked with the rest of the bread, p.23), both of which are sufficiently un-Bohemian as to require explanation in the text; and possibly such items as *blafkat* 'to bark' (p.121); *švakrová* 'sister-in-law' (p.45); *všichni* 'all, everyone' (p.180); *ořešisko* (here: a hard nut to crack, p.158) and *názvisko* 'name, label' (p.105), both of which employ an augmentative suffix more widely used in the east of the Czech-Slovak language area. It is conceivable that one or two oddities of morphology are to be explained likewise as a product of dialect interference, revealing the speaker's uncertainty as to the appropriate form and his consequent falling short of any Standard Czech, local Moravian or Slovak form, notably in the case of *protestanté* 'protestants' (an anomalous nominative plural, p.130) and *konventikle* 'conventicles' (an anomalous, or regional, variant of the standard plural *konventikly*, assigning the word to the wrong declension, p.167). Both are admittedly peripheral word types.

The resort to regionalisms is one area of the kind of authenticity which comes out of the reproduction of informal conversation. Another is the use of almost the entire range of informal vocabulary rooted in German, probably entirely natural to a man of Masaryk's generation with a background in pre-war Austria. Many of the forms are to be found elsewhere in Čapek and most survive to the present, though the stylistic glosses given them in more recent dictionaries accord them a generally 'lower' standing than they would have had immediately after World War I. These are so frequent in *Hovory s TGM* that I dispense here with page references and include *špitál* 'hospital', *šudent*, *študovat* 'to study', *kumšt* 'art, skill, knack', *mašina* 'machine' (used as a metaphor for 'man'), *kšeft* 'shop, business', *zfantastrovat* 'fantasize' (but used transitively, p.148), *komandýrovat* 'to order', *oficír* 'officer', *rekrutýrka* 'conscription', *kvartýrmajstr* 'quartermaster', *docírovat* 'to teach as a Dozent', *šproch* 'rumour', *špekulovat* 'to speculate', *ancvaj* or *an cvaj* (i.e. *ein zwei*,

²⁴ *Tož*, a fairly widespread Moravian particle, was and is so strongly associated with Masaryk's speech that any would-be accurate representation of his spoken style, let alone any satirical rendering, will carry it as a matter of course; it is probable that Čapek yielded to the same trend. On the other hand, he has certainly contributed to the survival of the *tož* 'legend' through his *Conversations*, which not only continue to be widely read, but are probably now the source for most Czech readers' awareness of how Masaryk spoke.

'straightaway'), and *partaj* 'party'. With these go colloquialisms of other kinds, further underlining the informality and enhancing the impression of authenticity. These would include such verbs as *docentovat* 'to teach as a *Dozent*' or *lajdákovat* 'to be slovenly, idle', *kuráž* 'spirit, courage', *na mol* 'totally drunk', *Amerikán* (usually reserved for Czech-Americans, but here used of Americans generally), *mudrák* 'wise-guy', and the whimsical *časopejsek* (a frivolous diminutive of *časopis* 'periodical'). The colloquial tone of many passages is upheld by reproduction of appropriate morphological or syntactic features, though here, perhaps more than in other areas where one seeks authenticity, the colloquiality is not as completely sustained as it might be. (One could not speak here of its being *consistently* sustained, since the colloquial tenor is in every respect inconsistent, which is a different sign of authenticity, insofar as the conversations did take place at different times, the participants were undoubtedly in varying moods, and the topics covered were by no means of the same gravity.) Colloquial features include the use of *jak* for, among others, *jakmile* 'as soon as' and the widespread, though far from universal use in even the more obviously informal passages, of *co* as the general relative pronoun: for *kdo* 'who', *který* 'who, which', and — the extreme case — *odkud* 'whence' (p.150). Note also the use of the redundant pronoun subject *ono* as in: *ale ono si nebylo co vybrat* 'there was no choice' (p.163). In the area of morphology there are nominatives plural in *-i* for *-é* (*Židi* 'Jews', p.66; *realisti*, p.125; *socialisti*, p.111), the totally haphazard use of colloquial *-uju* alongside literary *-uji* in the first person of *-ovat* verbs, the exclusive use of *veďte* instead of *vezměte* as the imperative of *vzít* 'to take', the widespread use of essentially redundant pronominal subjects and the fairly widespread concomitant omission of the auxiliary verb in the past tense. Both the last-named features and the apparently random distribution of accusative, *mě/mne*, and dative, *mi/mně*, of the first-person singular pronoun might have a variety of explanations, not solely to do with informality or colloquiality. One alternative account would suggest that Čapek may have superimposed, inadvertently, something of his own practice on his reproduction of Masaryk, for an inspection of Čapek texts of the period reveals a similar pattern. It is to be regretted that in texts most intimately connected with *Hovory s TGM* and particularly personal in a similar vein, and therefore most theoretically likely to contain a goodly repertoire of expressions of the first person, Čapek rather irritatingly uses only the third person, referring to himself as *pisatel* 'the writer'.

The kind of inadvertent superimposition of his own linguistic practice may embrace not only the first-person pronouns, as conjectured here and in the earlier reference to *do Čejče* (admittedly a less individual matter), but perhaps also the isolated use of *dosud* 'hitherto, so far' (p.171), where otherwise in the conversations Masaryk uses only *posud*, and the equally isolated long infinitive *poříditi* 'supply, provide', all other infinitives being quoted without the final *-i*.

Perhaps the two major syntactic devices which mark the text of *Hovory s TGM* are the widespread use of the genitive case (of the most varied range of semantic classes of

nouns) after negative verbs (again of considerable variety), and the free-standing subject, that is, an isolated noun or sometimes an entire clause, suspended at the head of the sentence, to which the actual grammatical subject becomes *to* (that). The sheer frequency of negative + genitive constructions is at least an authentic portrayal of Masaryk's usage generally, and perhaps he did also use it so frequently in spoken discourse. In the case of *to* replacing another subject, as in *přátelství, to je pro mladého člověka stejně silný cit jako láska* 'friendship, that for a young man is just as strong an emotion as love' (p.49); *ti mučedníci, to byli katolíci utracení za anglické reformace* 'those martyrs, they were Catholics done to death during the English Reformation' (p.37); or, the more complex version, the difference in punctuation being immaterial: *Co jsem se načetl a napřemýšlel o Rusku — získalo mně to styky s Rusy i dost váhy mezi nimi* 'All I'd been reading and thinking about Russia — that gained me contacts with the Russians and quite some esteem among them' (p.137), we have a device indicative of unprepared and, *eo ipso*, authentic utterances. The uses of demonstrative pronouns generally, and the many uses of *to* in particular, in *Hovory s TGM* could be interpreted as being overdone, that is, in seeking to lend authenticity by their inclusion, as a common marker of informal discourse, Čapek may have in fact produced a non-authentic rendering.

One of the main functions of demonstrative pronouns is to appeal to the addressee and his or her assumed knowledge. If one looks for devices that authenticate *Hovory s TGM* as *hovory*, then one must identify appeals to the interlocutor, more or less phatic, contact-making devices. In 'Věk mladosti' and 'Život a práce' there are many points where Čapek's unrecorded questions would stand. They include repetitions of the missing question, as in: *Rád?* 'Glad?' (p.83); answers to missing questions, as in: *To ano, od dětství až dodnes jsem nenasytný čtenář* 'Why yes, ever since I was a child I've been an insatiable reader' (p.60); or: *To ne, pokrokovou nebo, jak se říkalo, realistickou partaj jsem nezakládal* 'Oh no, I wasn't trying to set up a progressive, or as they used to say, a realist party' (p.125); direct involvement of his interlocutor by a switch to the first-person plural (for which of course there could be other, stylistic, explanations), as in: *Když už mluvíme o církvi* 'While we're on the subject of the church' (p.131); numerous instances of similar involvement by resort to such near empty phrases as: *to víte* 'you know', or *to se rozumí* 'that goes without saying', or more specific appeals such as: *Já nemám takové oči jako vy* 'My eyes aren't as good as yours' (p.123), *jen si vzpomeňte na začátky republiky* 'just think back to the early days of the Republic' (p.178), or the interpolated question: *jak bych vám to řekl* 'how should I put it' (p.171). The full range of contact devices with which the work is larded is typologically quite broad and includes interjections of the types *pane/panáčku* approximately: 'I say'; *bože můj/můj ty bože* 'gracious, good heavens', or *prosím vás* or *proboha vás prosím* approximately 'surely' (more literally: 'I entreat you'); redundant imperatives such as *teď si vezměte* approximately: 'just consider', immediacy enhancers such as *tu máš* in: *Tož jsem se rozjel do Ruska. Ale tu máš, jen jsem dojel — Miljukov podal demisi* 'So I set off for Russia. And what do you know, the minute I arrived — Milyukov handed in his resignation'

(p.159), or the rhetorical question as in: *Jak pak bych je mohl komandýrovat, kdyby viděli, že mám strach?* 'How could I command them if they saw I was afraid?' (p.163), or the ethic dative as in *já jsem vám byl jako natažený stroj* 'you know, I was all wound up like a machine' (p.145). Note also the impersonal second person in *v tom máte tu radikální náladu mladočeskou* 'that's where you get that radical vein of the Young Czech Party' (p.126), and the personal or impersonal use in occurrences of *chcete-li* (parenthetical 'if you will').

While the emphasis here has been on the lexical authenticity and the grammatical, lexical and other devices which contribute directly to the work's aura of authenticity as a record of 'conversations', which do, however, look more like interviews, whole areas which would contribute to an overall assessment of authenticity have been left untouched. These include a wide range of linguistic devices from outside the informal register: the use of transgressives; technical terminology; passive constructions with the auxiliary deleted; Masaryk's uses of individual synsemantic words such as *sic* 'though' or *več* 'in which', or vocabulary from the higher stylistic levels. On the other hand, further inspection might reveal that, perhaps in line with the authentic variation of mood, style and subject over time, other eminently describable features could also contribute to the work's partial authenticity. An attempt might be made to establish when the written rendering of the conversations would be more (and when less) likely to show leanings away from the literary standard (as between *ty/ta leta byly/byla* 'those years were'). It could also be illuminating to discover whether it is Masaryk's idiolect or the overall content of a passage which produces periodic bursts of frequentative verbs, of which there is an impressive range. These include, for the record: *chodívat* and *jezdívat* 'to go' (on foot and by means of transport respectively), *jídat* and *jídávat* 'to eat', *mívat* 'to have' and *zdávat se* 'to seem', *scházívat se* 'to come together', *vracívat se* 'to return', *mýlívat se* 'be mistaken', *věřívat* 'to believe' and *střílívat* 'to shoot'. If the answer to this and other possible questions could be proved to be idiolect, then these are other pointers to linguistic authenticity. Čapek's own comments on Masaryk and his language, in 'Mlčení s TGM',²⁵ which refer, *inter alia*, to his use of set phrases, synonym pairs, a bluntness of expression and a degree of rough-edgedness to many a sentence, are borne out by the text, but as the words of Čapek on Čapek's Masaryk they are epistemologically nugatory.

²⁵ *Hovory s TGM*, pp.325-26.

Appendix 1

To matka vymohla, že jsem šel na školy, abych se prý nemusil tak dřít jako oni (rodiče); když mě na visitaci pochválil sám pan děkan, dali mě študovat. Matka byla z Hustopeče, tož mě tam poslali na německou reálku; byl jsem tam na handl u tety a její děvče šlo za to k nám. Já na to nemyslel, čím bych chtěl být; líbila se mi jeden čas, když u nás v domě nám šil krejčí, krejčovina, líbilo se mi kovářství;

je zvláštní, já byl tak pobožný, ale nikdy mě nenapadlo být panáčkem.

Po dvou třídách reálky jsem měl jít na učitelskou preparandu; ale tam přijímali hochy teprve od šestnácti let,

načež mě rodiče dali

do Vídně na Kunstschlosserei, snad proto, že jsem uměl kreslit. Tam mě mistr postavil k stroji na děláni podkůvek k botám; to se dal do stroje proutek železný, zatáhlo se za páku a vypadla ohnutá podkova. Když jsem to dělal den, dva dny, nu dobrá; ale když jsem to dělal týden, dva týdny, tři týdny — za tři týdny jsem utekl domů. Vždycky jsem rád pracoval, ale ta pořád stejná práce v továrně, pořád ten jeden nebo dva pohyby, to jsem nemohl vydržet. Snad bych i byl ještě vydržel, ale jeden spoluučedník mi ukradl mé knížky z reálky; vždycky po práci jsem ty knížky popadl a četl v nich. Když jsem o ně přišel, bylo mně tak teskno, že jsem utekl domů do Čejče. Obzvláště mně bylo těžko bez atlasu, na němž jsem stále světem cestoval.

It was my mother who managed to get me sent to school, so that I wouldn't have to drudge as they (my parents) had; when the dean himself came on an inspection and praised me, they sent me to high school. My mother was from Hustopeče, so they sent me to the German Realschule there; I went to stay with my aunt on an exchange basis and her girl came to us in return. I gave no thought to what I'd like to become; there was a time, when we had a tailor working in the house, that I fancied tailoring, I fancied the blacksmith's trade;

it's odd, I was always so religious, but it never occurred to me to go into the priesthood.

After two years at the Realschule I was to do teacher-training; but you had to be at least sixteen,

whereupon my parents sent me away to Vienna to do metalwork possibly because I was good at drawing. My master put me on a machine for making heel-tips; you put a rod of iron it, pulled a lever and out fell a curved heel-tip. When I'd been doing it for a day or two, all well and good; but when I'd been doing it for a week, two weeks, three weeks — after three weeks I ran away home. I'd always been a willing worker, but that same old job in the works, the same one or two actions, I couldn't stand it. I might have stood it a bit longer, but one of the other apprentices stole the books I had from school; after work I would always grab the books to read. After I lost them I felt so lonely that I fled home to Čejč. It was particularly hard to be without my atlas, on which I travelled the world all the time.

Appendix 2

To matka vymohla, že jsem šel na školy, abych se prý nemusil tak dřít jako oni (rodiče); když mě na visitaci pochválil sám pan děkan, dali mě študovat. Matka byla z Hustopeče, tož mě tam poslali na německou reálku; byl jsem tam na handl u tety a sestřenice²⁶ šla za to k nám. Já na to nemyslil, čím bych chtěl být; líbila se mi jeden čas, když u nás v domě nám šil krejčí, krejčovina, líbilo se mi kovářství, *to jsem nejčastěji ze všech řemesel mohl v práci sledovat*²⁷; je zvláštní, já byl tak pobožný, ale nikdy mě nenapadlo být panáčkem. *Hoch v zapadlé vesnici nemá mnoho živých vzorů, kteří by mu ukazovali ven a nad okruh zemědělský a řemeslný — učitel, kaplan a děkan, doktor, páni na statku a jejich služebnictvo, kupec. Otázka, čím kluk bude, se vážně nepřetržá.*

Po dvou třídách reálky jsem měl jít na učitelskou preparandu; ale tam přijímali hochy teprve od šestnácti let, *a proto vznikl problém, co se mnou mezi tím? Potloukal jsem se, lajdákoval několik měsíců; proto mě rodiče dali na řemeslo*, do Vídně na Kunstschiesserei, proto, že jsem uměl *trochu* kreslit. Tam mě mistr postavil k stroji na děláni podkůvek k botám; to se dal do stroje železný proutek, zatáhlo se za páku a vypadla ohnutá podkova. Když jsem to dělal den, dva dny, nu dobrá; ale když jsem to dělal týden, dva týdny, tři týdny — za tři týdny jsem utekl domů. Vždycky jsem rád pracoval, ale ta pořád stejná práce v továrně, pořád ten jeden nebo dva pohyby, to jsem nemohl vydržet. Snad bych i byl ještě vydržel, ale jeden spoluúčedník mi ukradl mé knížky z reálky; vždycky po práci jsem ty knížky popadl a četl v nich. Když jsem o ně přišel, bylo mně tak teskno, že jsem utekl domů na Čejč. Obzvláště mně bylo těžko bez atlasu, na němž jsem stále světem cestoval.

²⁶ An intermediate change in Masaryk's hand has here *její dcerka*.

²⁷ The first version of this insertion has *sledovat v práci*.

It was my mother who managed to get me sent to school, so that I wouldn't have to drudge as they (my parents) had; when the dean himself came on an inspection and praised me, they sent me to high school. My mother was from Hustopeče, so they sent me to the German Realschule there; I went to stay with my aunt on an exchange basis and my cousin came to us in return. I gave no thought to what I'd like to become; there was a time, when we had a tailor working in the house, that I fancied tailoring, I fancied the blacksmith's trade, *that was the craft I had most chance to watch*; it's odd, I was always so religious, but it never occurred to me to go into the priesthood. *A boy in a remote village doesn't have many live models to show him the way out and above that circle of farmers and artisans — the teacher, the curate and the dean, the doctor, the squire's family and their servants, the shopkeeper. The matter of what a lad is to be isn't properly discussed.*

After two years at the Realschule I was to do teacher-training; but you had to be at least sixteen, *and so the problem arose of what to do with me meantime. I knocked about, idled away several months;* *so* *my* parents sent me away *to learn a craft*, to Vienna to do metalwork ... since I was *fairly* good at drawing. My master put me on a machine for making heel-tips; you put an iron rod in it, pulled a lever and out fell a curved heel-tip. When I'd been doing it for a day or two, all well and good; but when I'd been doing it for a week, two weeks, three weeks — after three weeks I ran away home. I'd always been a willing worker, but that same old job in the works, the same one or two actions, I couldn't stand it. I might have stood it a bit longer, but one of the other apprentices stole the books I had from school; after work I would always grab the books to read. After I lost them I felt so lonely that I fled home to Čejč. It was particularly hard to be without my atlas, on which I travelled the world all the time.

Appendix 3

To matka vymohla, že jsem šel na školy, abych se prý nemusil tak dřít jako oni (rodiče); když mě na visitaci pochválil sám pan děkan, dali mě študovat. Matka byla z Hustopeče, tož mě tam poslali na německou reálku; byl jsem tam na handl u tety, .. sestřenice šla za to k nám. Já na to nemyslel, čím bych chtěl být; líbila se mi jeden čas, když u nás v domě nám šil krejčí, krejčovina, líbilo se mi kovářství, to jsem nejčastěji ze všech řemesel mohl v práci sledovat; je zvláštní, já byl tak pobožný, ale nikdy mě nenapadlo být panáčkem. Hoch v zapadlé vesnici nemá mnoho živých vzorů, kteří by mu ukazovali ven, .. nad *ten* okruh zemědělský a řemeslný — učitel, kaplan a děkan, doktor, páni na statku a jejich služebnictvo, *nebo ještě* kupec. Čím kluk bude, o tom nerozhodují tak vlohy jako spíš ta nejbližší příležitost.

Reálku v Hustopeči vedli otcové piaristi; vzpomínám si na rektora, to byl takový tělnatý, hezký, starší muž, a na profesora Vašatého — to byl bratr mladočeského poslance Vašatého, pěkný mladý člověk, pyšný na ten řeholní hábit s černým pásem — i děvčata ho ráda viděla. Toho Vašatého jsem tuze miloval; byl to první Čech z království, kterého jsem poznal, a tož mě zajímal; o ledačems se mnou hovořil. Zvlášť jeho chůzi mám dosud živě v paměti.

Učil jsem se dobře; velmi mě poutala fysika, totiž mechanika. Ještě dnes si vzpomínám, jak jsem užasl, když nám profesor vykládal, že obyčejný trakař je jednoramenná páka a kolo a že odpovídá těm theoretickým mechanickým formulím. To mně zrovna otevřelo nový pohled na praktický život — já měl vždycky zálibu vidět theorii v přírodním i společenském dění a v denní práci a najít v nich obecné pravidlo; tehdy to bylo pro mne jako prvé zjevení.

Po dvou třídách reálky jsem měl jít na učitelskou preparandu; ale tam přijímali hochy teprve od šestnácti let, a proto vznikl problém, co se mnou zatím? Potloukal jsem se a lajdákoval nějaký čas — *to bylo v Hodoníně*; proto mě rodiče dali *na radu mých bývalých pánů* na řemeslo, do Vídně na Kunstslosserei, protože jsem uměl trochu kreslit. Tam mě mistr postavil k stroji na děláni podkůvek k botám; to se dal do strojku železný proutek, zatáhlo se za páku a vypadla ohnutá podkova. Když jsem to dělal den, dva dny, nu dobrá; ale když jsem to dělal týden, dva týdny, tři týdny — za tři týdny jsem utekl domů. Vždycky jsem rád pracoval, ale ta pořád stejná práce v továrně, pořád ten jeden nebo dva pohyby, to jsem nevydržel. Snad bych i byl ještě vydržel, ale jeden spoluúčedník mi ukradl mé knížky z reálky; vždycky po práci jsem ty knížky popadl a četl v nich. Když jsem o ně přišel, bylo mně tak teskně, že jsem utekl domů na Čejč. Zvlášť mně bylo těžko bez atlasu; na něm jsem každý večer cestoval po celém světě.

It was my mother who managed to get me sent to school, so that I wouldn't have to drudge as they (my parents) had; when the dean himself came on an inspection and praised me, they sent me to high school. My mother was from Hustopeče, so they sent me to the German Realschule there; I went to stay with my aunt on an exchange basis, .. my cousin came to us in return. I gave no thought to what I'd like to become; there was a time, when we had a tailor working in the house, that I fancied tailoring, I fancied the blacksmith's trade, that was the craft I had most chance to watch; it's odd, I was always so religious, but it never occurred to me to go into the priesthood. A boy in a remote village doesn't have many live models to show him the way out, .. above *that* circle of farmers and artisans — the teacher, the curate and the dean, the doctor, the squire's family and their servants, *or perhaps* the shopkeeper. What a lad is to be, that's not determined so much by his talents as by the nearest opportunity.

The Realschule at Hustopeče was run by Piarist fathers; I remember the rector, he was a well-built, good-looking elderly man, and Fr Vašatý — he was the brother of Vašatý, the Young Czech Party MP, a fine young man, proud of his monk's outfit with its black belt — the girls fancied him too. I was terribly fond of Vašatý; he was the first Bohemian Czech I had known, and, well, he interested me; he talked about all manner of things to me. I remember the way he walked particularly well.

I was a good pupil; I was very attracted to physics, I mean mechanics. I can still remember how amazed I was when the teacher explained to us that an ordinary barrow is just a one-armed lever and a wheel and that it matches all those formulae in theoretical mechanics. That really did give me a new view of the practical life — I'd always had a predilection for seeing the theoretical in natural and social events and in daily work and for finding the general rule in them; that occasion was like a first revelation for me.

After two years at the Realschule I was to do teacher-training; but you had to be at least sixteen, and so the problem arose of what to do with me till then. I knocked about *and* idled away some time — *that was in Hodonín*; so, *on the advice of my former masters*, my parents sent me away to learn a craft, to Vienna to do metalwork since I was fairly good at drawing. My master put me on a little machine for making heel-tips; you put an iron rod in it, pulled a lever and out fell a curved heel-tip. When I'd been doing it for a day or two, all well and good; but when I'd been doing it for a week, two weeks, three weeks — after three weeks I ran away home. I'd always been a willing worker, but that same old job in the works, the same one or two actions, I had to give up. I might have stood it a bit longer, but one of the other apprentices stole the books I had from school; after work I would always grab the books to read. After I lost them I felt so lonely that I fled home to Čejč. It was especially hard to be without my atlas; every evening I would travel all over the world by it.

**DREAM-DRAMA OF THE WHETTED KNIFE:
ALENA VOSTRÁ'S *NA OSTRÍ NOŽE*¹**

... Come thick night
And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
That my keen knife see not the wound it makes
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry, 'Hold, hold!'

Macbeth, Act I, Scene 5

Alena Vostrá was born in 1938 in Prague, where she also attended grammar school. Her university studies seem to have begun with a false start — two years of land-surveying, followed by a switch to the drama faculty at AMU, where she first did puppet theatre and then literary management (*dramaturgie*), graduating in 1963. Since then, up to her suicide in 1992, she was a writer full-time. Her earliest published work was in children's literature, which appeared in such children's magazines as *Mateřídouška* and *Ohníček* and was broadcast on children's radio programmes. Her adult prose appeared in *Plamen* and her dramatic texts in *Divadlo*. Some of her longer prose (*Bůh z reklamy*, *Vlažná vlna*) were published in book form. She became a mainstay of the Prague experimental theatre Činoherný klub, for which she wrote and which took her plays abroad, including to London. When new and topical, some of her works were translated and/or performed in a number of European languages (Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Hungarian, Polish, Dutch); the attraction lay in the period avantgarde, adventurous and anti-establishment tenor of the plays in particular (and of the Činoherný klub itself), which were great crowd-pullers and ultimately contributed, as in the case of many young writers of her generation, to the difficulties she experienced after 1969 (for a time she could not publish). The problems of her generation also afflicted the journal *Plamen* and the Činoherný klub.

Na ostří nože (On a Knife-edge) is categorized by the author not as a 'play' (or 'comedy', 'drama' or whatever), but as a 'rêve-vérité', although it has all the formal

¹ The text of the play was published in *Divadlo*, 1968, 10, pp.85-107. This essay is adapted from a paper given in 1993 as part of the 'Women's Literature' seminar series at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London.

attributes of a play, was performed as one and will be so treated here. However, this neatly paradoxical label already says a great deal about the terms in which one might seek to interpret its 'message' (were one to look for one).

The scene, constant throughout, but changed to enhance its alternating sub-locations by the use of lighting, is a cross-section through a number of flats, adjacent on both the vertical and horizontal planes, along with the relevant linking stairways and corridors. It has to be a cross-section so that we can see inside each flat or room, so the impression is of a set of rabbit hutches (of the kind to be seen behind many houses in Czech villages, where the rabbits are kept, not as pets, but for their skins and meat). This rabbit-hutch impression is actually stated, not entirely superfluously, in the stage directions (which an audience does not read, so this is in part a text intended at least as much to be read as to be performed). It should go without saying that the rabbit-hutch image, with its connotations of the restraint of free spirits, is very much an image of the period; the 'Prague Spring' would have been well under way as Vostrá was writing. She would have sympathized with the student demonstrations that called for more (literal and figurative) light (this play makes much use of lighting, as indicated). She was herself not long out of college, where, it should be remembered, she had also studied puppet theatre, which is necessarily to do with the restraint and control of humanoid figures in a confined space.

In addition to the setting (with the role that lighting plays) and the characters, an important feature is that of background sounds. The flats are built insensitively close to a railway marshalling yard and the inmates of the house have to put up with instructions to shunters bellowed through a loudspeaker mounted on an adjacent building and so within all too easy earshot, as well as the consequent to-ing and fro-ing of shunting engines and the odd whole trundling train. Ignoring the period, one might see in this merely a representation of the kind of unfortunate town planning of which any society might occasionally be found guilty, where the powers that be allow the general good (the functioning of a railway distribution system as part of the economy) outweigh the interests of the individual citizen (the right to a quiet home).² But given the period when the play was written and first performed, it is easy to see in this noisy intrusion (based in part on commands) and its large, wheeled, inanimate agencies (the trains) an allegory of the unwanted Warsaw Pact armies, which at this period had been conducting large-scale manoeuvres in Czechoslovakia, with all the attendant practical upheaval, a general concern that the armies might forget to go home,³

² Responsibility for this particular insensitivity does not lie at the door of the regime of the day, since the house is described as a *činžák* 'tenement block', and so probably dates from pre-war Austria or the inter-war First Czechoslovak Republic.

³ The manoeuvres were eventually ended, the armies did leave Czechoslovakia, but the concerns proved not unfounded when they returned as occupiers on the night of 20-21 August 1968, some nine weeks or so before this play appeared in *Divadlo*.

and various emotions ranging from scorn through helplessness and frustration to a passive indifference or resignation (it is the last-named which comes across finally in the play).

There is a mix of characters in the play, which, if nothing else, offers some reflection of the post-war Czechoslovak housing policy: confiscated tenement blocks were filled, like the tower blocks on the new peripheral estates, with a broad spectrum of tenants, which cut right across any class boundaries; in these circumstances a professor could easily have a refuse collector as a neighbour. The characters are: Mr and Mrs Hrdina and their daughter Bibi, a student; their two lodgers Kilián and Pinta, also students; Miss Nekvindová, a somewhat dim secondary-school teacher; a Dr Demartini and his sister, Gábinka, who is effectively also his housekeeper; inženýr Vladyka, a loopy inventor; and Dzafar Ajmut, 'a musician of unknown nationality', as he is described. Each in their own way is a type, or, more properly, a parody of a type.

Of their names, let it be said that they are almost uniformly bizarre in one way or another. Most strikingly this applies to the utterly un-*hrdina*-like (unheroic) Hrdina. 'Kilián', with no obvious appropriateness, carried, at the time, an echo of the donkey in a then popular film, *Dědeček, Kilián a já*. 'Pinta' is a 'pint' (and the word is used in the course of the play as student slang for a bottle of wine); the artificial 'Nekvindová' suggests, if anything, a limpet-like quality, being based on the negative *nekvinde* of *kvinde* as in *dát někomu/něčemu kvinde* 'give someone the boot', 'have done with someone/something'; 'Demartini' is probably more to do with the Martini-drinking (i.e. privileged) class than with any Italian origin; while 'Vladyka' has connotations of authority or power. 'Dzafar Ajmut' is merely foreign, but probably Middle-Eastern; as such, he would have been, at the time, a target of the interest of young Czech females, as is precisely the case here, with Bibi. At the surface level, the fact that he is a musician is no more than a structural device, in that he can use his instrument (a decrepit harmonium) to give signals to Bibi. However, it also gives a more 'natural', more 'human' function to sound, in contrast to the trains. The two ranges of sound are actually placed in competition and contrast even before the first word is spoken.

All the non-student characters are marked as in some way or other 'indefinite'. We never find out what Hrdina's job is; Demartini is eventually asked what his doctorate is in (as we, the readers have also been wondering)⁴, but 'has forgotten'; Vladyka works as an inventor, even getting into the newspapers, yet there is no indication of who he works for (his name is probably sufficient indication; see below); we are told that Gábina is Demartini's sister, but her role as housekeeper is much the stronger; Nekvindová simply never seems to know whether she is coming or going; she has some of the common-sense attitudes of the

⁴ In fact a living audience would have no other evidence for his doctoral status than the cast list in the programme.

secondary teacher, while being apparently infatuated by Vladyka; Mrs Hrdinová alone seems to have her head screwed on in a down-to-earth way — this is perhaps to do with her job as a cashier or similar. Dzafar Ajmut is basically just an alien element, in whom the choice of harmonium as an instrument is plainly bizarre.

Not only are they characters with indefinite contours, they are, superficially, mostly more or less (apparently) crazy. Gábina's life centres round dieting — not perhaps crazy in itself, but her system of one food item per day is — and obituary columns; Demartini lives by what his nose tells him, which Gábina sometimes throws back at him (as when he cannot find his socks: 'Use your nose,' she says); Mrs Hrdinová is prone to exaggerate minor domestic problems, such as the disappearance or misuse of her best kitchen knife; Dzafar composes for the harmonium,⁵ though his own is actually not much good for anything but signalling to Bibi; and Vladyka's invention, for which he completes the technical drawings in the course of the play, puts him on another planet: it is for the construction of a set of eight inflatable flats which can be set up anywhere, under water or attached to a cliff face. Society at large is just as crazy, given that it is for this design of futuristic dwellings that he appears in the press, and both Nekvindová (by personal acquaintance with his work) and Gábina (through the newspaper reports) are thoroughly impressed. Hrdina is superficially crazy in that his single dynamic act, and the linchpin of the play, is to stab himself through the crown of the head with the missing kitchen knife.

Hrdina, the central character, while being no-one in particular, is interpretable in a way as everyman, but an everyman frustrated in life, knowing he knows nothing, living almost despite himself, and signally failing to die because of himself; the knife (somewhat improbably) misses the vital parts of the brain. His self-inflicted injury resolves nothing — and he obviously had no clear idea of what he intended to achieve by it anyway; it simply seemed a good idea at the time, as one might put it, though undoubtedly it is also the act of an individual whom one might objectively deem crazy. If he *is* everyman, and if everyman *is* crazy, so society is crazy. Society is both amorphous and fragmentary; society is going nowhere except round and round in circles. Indeed the play, after Hrdina's adventure with the knife, effectively settles down into something like an ordinary routine, each of the characters back in their own flats or rooms continuing basically with what have become known to be their main cares or interests (such as they are).

And what we have in the characters is a society of sorts. They all know each other, and there is even that unseen network by which news travels: Bibi's affair with Dzafar, quite contrary to her belief, is common knowledge almost throughout the house, except to her

⁵ Composing for the harmonium direct seems to be practically unknown, since its main function is as a cheap substitute for other instruments; however, some of Dvořák's (!) *Bagatelles* (!) are scored for two violins, cello and harmonium.

parents; even they have some of the evidence, but cannot interpret it. This society is a microcosm, a very Czech microcosm, indeed a semi-surreal microcosm of 1968. An allegory for 1968. I have already hinted at some relevant factors here.

How then to interpret it in this light? Vostrá calls the work a *rêve-vérité*. The *vérité* part is in the way the students revise for and then celebrate their exams; in the persistent escape into coffee-making; in the running of households; in the superficiality of neighbourhood acquaintance. The dream, or 'unreality' part is in the literal dream which is Tableau 2, in the semantics of 'sand' — the sand which Mrs Hrdina pours all over Mr Hrdina at the end of Tableau 2, in the sand which is one of Mr Hrdina's eternally bewildering puzzles; 'sand' in Czech idiom is to do with concealment, mystification, having things seem 'other' (cf. *házet někomu písek do očí* 'to throw sand in someone's eyes'); very obviously, unreality is in the recurrent references to *sen* 'dream/sleep' and *zdát se* 'seem' which represent one of the overt semantic threads running through the play, surrounding sundry real and half-forgotten imaginings and actual and half-forgotten dreams that various characters have had; and, at the allegorical level, the whole thing is perhaps to be seen as portraying Vostrá's conception of the wild (insubstantial?) dream of the Czechoslovaks that something could be achieved to alter their lot as citizens of a Soviet satellite: as a body they, represented by everyman *hrdina* (now a thoroughly ironic name), had voluntarily embarked in the 'Prague Spring' upon something as crazy, self-inflicted and uncertain of any positive outcome as Hrdina's gesture with the knife. The uncertainties are conveyed in the play by the grotesque carryings-on of Hrdina with the knife in his head. Not only does he seek to conceal the real nature of what he has done by wearing a top-hat (and making the others look ridiculous by having them all wear hats, unsuitable ones at that), but he then seeks to avoid being seen by anyone and having to explain the nature and purpose of his disguise; some, like Gábina, know the knife is there, but are incapable of putting an interpretation on it. In terms of the allegory, many ordinary people simply did not understand the nature and purpose of the reforms of 1968.

The social and political changes to which so many aspired in 1968 needed more thought-out lines of action, more community of intent, but if this allegory is to be accepted there is no common tongue among the members of the society. A common language is a *sine qua non* of ordered progress, yet in the play there are countless instances of non-communication, dialogues that are circular, dialogues based, rather impressively, on *aneinandervorbeireden*, dialogues centred on trivia. Not only is the social fabric, as so interpreted, disintegrated and fragmentary, the actual physical fabric of the microcosm is breaking up. With every train that passes the house shakes, the windows rattle, and it is once stated that it must soon collapse, with more than a hint that that would not be a bad thing. Clearly if it did, and if we then interpret this, according to the allegory, as the then oft-repeated wish to see the Soviet empire and its substructures collapse, it leaves us with a very clear indication that there is no substantial alternative to put in its place. The only hint lies

in the literal *vzdušné zámky*, the 'castles in the air' of Vladyka's designs. (We remember that these castles in the air, the inflatable houses, patently unrealizable constructs, originate from a person whose name is associated with authority; in this interpretation the reforming regime is, to put it crudely, embarked on a crazy mission.) This would make Vostrá's sympathies for the reforms appear highly conditional. This interpretation would also make her less than wholehearted in any sympathies she might have had with the student contribution to the events of 1968. Consider what the students here are like: Bibi's main concern is not her physics, but her affair with the exotic alien; her failure to understand how the waves that cause sand to dance can be neutralized by the waves from a tuning fork (i.e. how political dreaming can be quashed by real external forces) does not much matter to her; in the exam she merely uses a crib; she is shallow and dishonest. If Dzafar represents any foreigner (not just, superficially, the Middle-Eastern), then Bibi's fascination is the average Czech fascination with all things foreign; it is perhaps interesting that one of the few character changes in the play is in Bibi, insofar as at the end she begins to ignore Dzafar's signals. Then Kilián and Pinta: Kilián studies forensic medicine and Pinta quantum physics and mathematics. Kilián is the more important dramatically, since his knowledge of anatomy enables him to remove the knife safely from Hrdina's head and carry out the necessary first-aid. He has failed his exam in autopsy techniques once, because he had not been able to define 'sudden death', but he passes the second time. In allegorical terms, he could be seen as the younger generation serving to act as a corrective to the follies of society as a whole (putting Hrdina to rights); he necessarily has a finer understanding of knife-work and so, perhaps, for a more surgical approach to society's ills. I suspect that this line, unavoidably interpretable as compromise, is perhaps where Vostrá's own sympathies lie. Pinta acts as a sort of generational side-kick to Kilián and the evidence that life can still be enjoyed in spite of the prevailing hassles of exams, disintegrating society, rolling tanks or whatever. He it is who at one point says: *Když si člověk může vybrat, tak to furt ještě jde* 'If you have a choice, then things are still pretty OK' (85/2).

So much for a basic interpretation of the play. It must not be thought, however, to be merely a run-of-the-mill, however experimental, political parody of the age. No less important than the creation of an allegorical construct is Vostrá's use of language. And she reveals a glorious linguistic joie de vivre of which the elements are almost too numerous to mention. There are little, simple details such as Demartini's mistranslation of some snippets of Italian, which he says is Finnish; or, in the midst of one of the conversations that go nowhere he suddenly asks what the English for *syreček* '(various types of smelly) cheese' is (105/3) — it is completely irrelevant, but at least in harmony with his overdeveloped olfactory sense; or, again, there is the neat observation of foreigner's Czech, when Dzafar curses his harmonium⁶ in just the two words: *Kurva kram* 'bloody junk'; or again Kilián's

⁶ At this point, after so much allegorizing, we can perhaps see an additional reason why 'abroad', represented by Dzafar, might seek (and fail) in its attempts to offer a new vision

claim to speak 'Džugašvahili' (a delightful hybrid between Stalin's surname and Swahili).

Then there are dialogues that go nowhere, except up and down the scale of the bizarre, grotesque and slapstick; some are quite long, others quite brief and dense, such as the following:

<i>Vladyka:</i>	Máte to, čeho jste nepoz- byla?	Do you have what you haven't lost?
<i>Nekvindová:</i>	Prosím?	Sorry?
<i>Vladyka:</i>	Máte to, čeho jste nepoz- byla?	Do you have what you haven't lost?
<i>Nekvind.:</i>	... Mám.	... yes.
<i>Vladyka:</i>	A máte kly?	And have you got tusks?
<i>Nekvind.:</i>	Mně někdo ukrad ruku...	Someone's stolen my hand...

(86/1)

The quotations from the various physics and autopsy textbooks are not original, but what Vostrá does with them is. We have mentioned the Hopkins effect experiment with the sand (which is enhanced by the ignorant Mrs Hrdina's interpretation of the facts: *Hopkinsův, tak to hopká* 'Hopkins's, so it hops'. This is further enhanced by the ludicrous suggestion that *Tatínek to vysvětlí* 'Daddy will explain'; ludicrous, but readers with children will perhaps recognize a situational cliché). One sample of textbook-ese must suffice:

Kilián: (odřítkává z knihy):

... v ráně mohou být úlomky nástrojů, které je možno rentgenováním bezpečně zjistit. Cizí, z rány vyňaté předměty je nutno řádně popsati a pečlivě uschovati jako cenné corpus delicti. Po pitvě budiž mrtvola pečlivě sešita, očištěna a uvedena v takový stav, v jakém byla před pitvou přijata. Obličej i ostatní viditelné části těla buďtež co nejvíc šetřeny a nenařezávány nebo jinak zohaveny. Nepěkně a trapně působí, nebyla-li po pitvě mrtvola pečlivě zašita, takže z lebky nebo z dutiny břišní vytékají krvavé a jiné látky, je-li v obličejí

... a wound may contain fragments of instruments, which can be safely revealed by x-ray. Foreign bodies removed from the wound must be properly described and carefully set aside as valuable material evidence. After an autopsy, a corpse should be carefully sewn up, cleaned and returned to the condition in which it was received before the autopsy. The face and other visible parts should be spared as much as possible, without incisions or other disfigurations. It looks nasty and awkward if a corpse has not been carefully sewn up after autopsy so that bloody or other substances

of social 'harmony' through the choice of this particular instrument. He is regularly abused (except by Hrdina, who defends him) for the noise he makes.

zakrvácena a podobně. (*Zívá, zalistuje jinam*) Lebka se otvírá řezem za boltcem a přes temeno. Nejdříve odloučíme měkké části až na kost a ručníkem odloupneme přední lalok přes čelo... (88/2)

ooze out of the skull or the abdominal cavity, if the face is covered in blood, and so forth. (*Yawns, finds another page*) The skull is opened by an incision behind the ear and across the crown. First we separate the soft parts down to the bone and then, using a towel, peel back the front fold over the forehead...

These sections are obviously selected for a mixture of their humorous (ridiculous) effect and the oblique internal relevance to the play (knives, brains, etc.). In individual quotations the ridiculous aspect predominates absolutely, such as the instructions for mailing organs to the lab, or the general advice, read by Pinta from Kilián's book:

Při pitvě je nutno předem zjistiti, že pitváme mrtvolu toho, koho vskutku máme pitvati. (89/2)⁷

At an autopsy it is necessary to ascertain beforehand that we are dissecting the corpse of the person whom we are supposed to be dissecting.

The most ridiculous version is the parody of the textbook in Vladyka's contribution to the dream scene (Tableau 2, scene 5), or the unconscious parody of her subject in Pětioká's notes, which Pinta has borrowed (96/3).

The play contains numerous instances of a kind of stand-up repartee, as:

<i>Gábina:</i>	Nesedíš mi na pilníku?	Aren't you sitting on my nail-file?
<i>Demartini:</i>	Ne, na prdeli. (88/3)	No, on my arse.
or		
<i>Demartini:</i>	Tatínek je?	Dad's in?
<i>Bibi:</i>	Tatínek není.	Dad isn't.
<i>Demartini:</i>	Vodešel?	He's gone off?
<i>Bibi:</i>	Vodešel.	He's gone off.
<i>Demartini:</i>	Navždy?	For ever?
<i>Bibi:</i>	Na chvíli.	For a moment.
<i>Demartini:</i>	Proklatě.	Two-faced prat.
<i>Bibi:</i>	Pro chleba. (102/1)	To fetch bread.

⁷ This type of text has another period resonance for me; as a student at the time, I would be regaled with some of the pearls contained in the Czechoslovak People's Army manual, which students on military service rejoiced in recounting. While I cannot quote them authentically, they included such items as: Wet hand-grenades should not be dried out on a hot stove; or: The horse should be harnessed to the wagon with its head facing forward.

Much of the wordplay — punning (*passim*), rhyming (especially in Hrdina's dream ditty [92/1]), anagramizing (for example, in the combined eulogy on Hrdina, 97/3) — is highly inventive and often has an extra loading, though perhaps the cheapest is the extended play on *mít něco v hlavě* 'have something in one's head' (i.e. literally, or 'between the ears') and various other idioms involving *hlava* 'head', which culminates in Hrdina's second ditty (98/1) and the mixture of conscious and unconscious, idiomatic and literal, head references from almost all the characters after Hrdina has spiked his head.

Student word-play also figures here, in Kilián's exam questions, which we first hear of as *smrdítka* and *pacvišky* (98/1);⁸ while they have the air of authenticity, they are nevertheless strongly reminiscent of the kind of word-play used in the Špejbl and Hurvínek puppet-plays;⁹ the impression is enhanced by the description of Kilián's teacher's *stařecký mečivý hlas* (doddery bleating voice).

Games with the language are at their most creative in the dream Tableau. Scene 1 opens to a whispered chanting of *Ba-ši-bo-zu-ku*,¹⁰ said to be like a quietly puffing locomotive. After a moment's silence, and against a 'dreamy' light, Kilián and Pinta conduct an apparently meaningless dialogue in words from some alien language, with an uncomprehending Hrdina, whose own utterances are snatches from his daughter's textbook. Scene 2 consists largely of a monologue from Nekvindová, with just monosyllabic intrusions from Hrdina. Nekvindová's speech is conducted in grammatically flawless Czech, built up into semantically incongruous sentences (91/1-3), rather reminiscent of the type of un-sentences quoted in the linguistics of the day (of the type: The furious wastepaper baskets sleep greenly). In the third scene, Gábina is seen to be speaking while no sounds issue forth, Hrdina offering another bout of nonsense plus anagramizing. Scene 4 is on the one hand a distortion of body language, together with a solipsistic, schizophrenic ditty from Hrdina (solipsistic because it is based cleverly on first-person forms of phrases not usually so occurring, and schizophrenic because it is his voice singing, but not him, and he tries vainly to shake it off). The fifth scene is Vladyka's nonsense version of the type of things we have seen in Kilián's textbook.

⁸ '*Smrdítka*' and '*pacvišky*' are near-nonsense words suggesting 'stinky-things' and perhaps some kind of small animal, but in fact are distortions of *smrt dítky* 'death of a child' and *pád z výšky* 'a fall from a height'.

⁹ In particular the one about how Hurvínek had eaten *užovky* 'grass snakes' (*u Žovky* 'at Sophie's').

¹⁰ In effect the vocative case of 'bashi-bazouk', a wild Turkish irregular soldier; the word is also used metaphorically for a brawler — suitable connotations for an allegory where the trains stand for the Red Army, invited into the country behind the back of the government.

In this Tableau we have in effect an illustration of two statements made at different points in the play, namely that *Slovo je mocné* 'The word is mighty' (which may well be meant ironically, especially since it comes from Vladyka, 100/2), and the claim that *Někdy je skoro lepší ... když člověk nic neví ... o druhém* 'It's sometimes perhaps better when one doesn't know anything about another' (this doesn't appear in quite this form, but arises out of the fragments of a dialogue between Nekvindová and Vladyka; it is probably no less ironic).

Ignoring the special uses to which language is put, it should be mentioned that all the characters use versions of Common or Colloquial Czech; it is probably not an accident that the most uncouth version is that used by Demartini.

To conclude, this play, like so many performed after August 1968, has numerous topical references. On top of the humour — of comedy of situation, slapstick, the grotesque, and the language play — its appeal surely lay in the allegorical quality and the sense of forbidden fruit it contains. This undoubtedly resulted in a raising of public spirits, though it could easily be taken as a profoundly pessimistic work, not least for the way light — shining at the end on the whole house — is overtaken by darkness.

There is nothing in the play that marks the author out as a woman.

**CZECH WITH A SENSE OF INSECURITY:
VÍT STUHLÝ'S *MĚSÍC JDE NAHORU*¹**

The foreigner engaged in Czech studies may often be a victim of some uncertainty when he is required to explain the essence of the opposition between 'Standard Czech' and 'Common Czech'. The fact that they co-exist in time and place, along with yet other more or less definable versions of the language, is the outcome of the elemental linguistic evolution that has produced Common Czech and the sociolinguistic activities of several generations of codifiers who have given form to the standard language. That coexistence creates a permanent tension — not to say a measure of near-schizophrenia — in speakers and writers of the language. It is not therefore surprising that the two key forms of the language interfere to an extent one upon the other, and that neither variant of the language has permanently valid, immutable norms.

As far as the content of the standard language is concerned, Czech linguists confirmed by the late 1970s their observation that the centre of gravity of the standard language had shifted from the literary register to the registers of technical and journalistic writing.² On the question of the norms at different levels of analysis of Czech, the same source makes the point — to be repeated with increasing insistence in the early 1990s — that upward pressure from the 'lower' registers demanded a measure of liberalization (a 'loosening up') of the standard language, whereby many forms previously described as sub-standard should be admitted into the codified standard.³

Certain articles of the period published in the leading linguistic journal, *Slovo a*

¹ Revised version of a paper originally presented at a seminar of the Czech Writers' Union in Dobříš and published in *Literární měsíčník*, 12, 1983, 4, pp.141-43.

² 'styl odborný a publicistický', see the Foreword to *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost*, Prague, 1978 (hereafter *SSČ*), p.5. This statement survives in the otherwise revised Foreword to the second edition of the dictionary (Prague, 1994), p.5.

³ Recent relevant promotions of such upwardly mobile forms are recapitulated in Section 3 of the 'Zásady zpracování' of *SSČ*, pp.784ff. The equivalent section in the second revised edition of the dictionary (pp.642-43) is much more modest in the detail, but expands the section on personal pronouns.

slovesnost, whose remit is, *inter alia*, precisely to follow and describe the changing state of the language, give clear expression to the same pressures, which some authors obviously felt particularly strongly.⁴

Thus while Standard Czech has its codified norms, although they may (be) change(d) from time to time, the issue of the content and forms of Common Czech is more fraught. Linguists, teachers or lexicographers may confirm that this or that form is or is not part of (appropriate in) Common Czech, but until recently there was little in the way of guidance as to the overall structures and content of Common Czech as a linguistic entity separate from Standard Czech. Jiří Hronek's *Obecná čeština*⁵ came closest to it, but even that failed to capture some of the features discussed below. A recent attempt at a description of a closely related version of the language is Charles Townsend's *A Description of Prague Spoken Czech*.⁶

In literatures for which a codified, or at least tacitly agreed, standard language exists, 'good practice' has usually decreed that that version of the national language should be used. Exceptions to that normal practice appear in verbatim renderings of direct speech, to the extent that an author finds that useful or necessary. To enliven the text he may resort to more colourful expressive, dialectal, obsolescent or obsolete, technical or otherwise narrowly focused elements (for example, slang expressions) of the national language. Such elements are, however, in a minority and never employed arbitrarily. Nor are they in any way objectionable from the perspective of the standard language: a literary word may become obsolescent, but remains 'literary'; and words glossed as 'expressive' (as is common practice in Czech dictionaries) have their place in literary texts which without them would be deprived of some pith. However, expressions of these types stand at the periphery of a standard language. What is less clear is the status of slang or dialect expressions, and in the Czech case, that of expressions taken unequivocally from Common Czech. They are by definition outside the standard language, but they surely have their place in a text that is generally 'literary' because of the individualizing force which they share with the other non-central devices of which a language can avail itself. K.M. Čapek-Chod was a past master in the mixing of all such ingredients, as the chapter on his *Turbina* herein (pp.31ff.) seeks to show.

⁴ See for example Jiří Kraus *et al.*, 'Současný stav a vývojové perspektivy kodifikace spisovné češtiny', *Slovo a slovesnost*, 42, 1981, pp.228-38; Petr Sgall, 'K některým otázkám naší jazykové kultury', *ibid.*, pp.299-306. In the 1990s such authors continue to be at the forefront of the 'fight' for 'progressive' change to the standard language, cf. Petr Sgall and Jiří Hronek's much discussed *Čeština bez příkras*, Prague, 1992.

⁵ Prague, 1972.

⁶ Columbus, Ohio, 1990, reviewed by the present writer in some detail in 'Living Czech: the Language of the He(a)rd', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 69, 1991, 3, pp.502-10.

The situation may, however, arise — as it has with increasing frequency in Czech literature in recent years — where an author may feel better served *not* by a standard language that runs off here and there into the sub-standard or peripheral sphere, but by a conspicuously non-literary (non-standard) form of language, or language relying primarily on devices from well beyond the centre of the standard norm, which occasionally runs off into language that is conspicuously literary.

A relatively early example of a work where the balance is tipped that way⁷ was Vít Stuchlý's *Měsíc jde nahoru* (The Moon is on the Up).⁸ It is a fairly typical product of its age, is of low literary merit and has had little critical attention paid to it.⁹ It is not intended to go here into either the plot or the morality or values that it can be deduced to convey; the main interest is the language, although certain points of contact between values and language could certainly be found.

The following remarks are based pre-eminently on the novel's opening chapter, since it is typical of the book as a whole and contains material enough for the kind of analysis contemplated.

That the novel is written in a conspicuously non-literary language is in part motivated by the choice of the *ich*-form of narration, where the 'ich' is a young Prager of average education and fairly earthy interests. In many respects he is a precursor of the hero of Frýbort's *Vekslák*. The non-standard qualities of his speech are, then, at least in part, a reflection of his normal idiom, as used in the sections in direct speech. (I ignore here the direct speech of the other characters as non-contributory to the narration.)

The non-standard quality of the text, or, rather, the deliberate exploitation in it of the most peripheral elements present in the standard language, shows in the frequent resort to all the types of item referred to above: slang or jargon, dialect and regional expressions, colloquial and 'coarse' (*zhrubělý*) expressions, but above all a vast range of features of Common Czech and expressions glossed in *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* as 'expressive', or 'expressive in Common Czech'. Other characteristics of elements of

⁷ Before the balance shifted so far in favour of the sub-standard, one found no shortage of hybrid works, going back to, say, Josef Škvorecký's *Zbabělci* (The Cowards) of 1958.

⁸ Prague, 1980. This was Stuchlý's only major work; the author met an unfortunate end in a possibly suspicious hit-and-run accident on the streets of Prague.

⁹ One British critic, Robert B. Pynsent, has placed it firmly in the Czech literary context in a broadly based essay, 'Social Criticism in Czech Literature of the 1970s and 1980s', *Bohemia*, 27, 1986, 1 (hereafter 'Social criticism'), pp.1-36, especially pp.12, 16, 21, 27 and 28.

Stuchlý's lexis include 'obsolescent', 'vulgar', 'relatively rare', and 'rare'.¹⁰

The undemanding plot and the uncomplicated psychology and lack of imagination of the narrator (one might well hesitate to call him the 'hero') are the reasons why the rest of the language, with few exceptions, is extremely simple. It is riddled with clichés: *znát o něčem celé romány*, a colloquialism for 'have an encyclopedic knowledge of something; *život bude jedna báseň* 'life will be pure poetry'; it contains the most mundane of similes: *pasovat jako pěst na oko* 'be an eye-sore', although there is sometimes a little more invention here: *mrkat řasami jako smetáčky* 'to flash one's eyelashes like little-brushes'. Where proverbs appear, they are again usually the most everyday ones, and the automatic epithet is at home here as well: *chorobná touha* 'morbid yearning'; *nehorázné množství* 'a ridiculous amount (of)'; *ne(mít) valné mínění* 'take a dim view of'. Yet here too, there are occasional instances of the deconstruction of a cliché and its replacement by something slightly more innovative: the hackneyed *utkvělá představa*, of an idea one cannot get out of one's mind, a fixation, becomes *utkvělá chiméra* 'a fixated chimera'. The net impression, however, is that a fairly simple chap in the mould of the narrator is served best by resort to off-the-peg language. It enhances the low, sub-standard, register of the whole text.

Earlier, it was suggested that the narrator, Ctibor, occasionally runs off into a conspicuously literary mode. When this happens, it is either by resort to the distinctly pompous style of the journalism of the day, as when he refers to the *stálice na kulturním nebi* 'the fixed stars in the cultural firmament', *rozervaný snoubenec múz* 'a tormented escort of the muses' or *osedlání hudebního Pegasa* 'saddling-up the Pegasus of music', or by selection of expressions glossed in *SSJČ* as conspicuously literary (or bookish, or high-style): *dlužno po výtce říci* 'it must be stated by and large'; the term *mimikry* 'mimicry, protective colouring', and others. Occasionally this creates some odd bedfellows, by juxtaposition of items from opposite poles of the language, and it is here that I perceive some of the 'insecurity', the uncertainty about the use of modern Czech. The transitions between the extremes can be quite abrupt, for example:

Pravidelně k nám dochází za matkou a na svíčkové řezy, jichž k mé závistí spořádá nehorázné množství. Když se nadlábne, ušlechtilé rozjímá o umění a

'He comes regularly to see my mother and enjoy her braised sirloin steaks, of which, to my great envy, he can down a ridiculous quantity. Having stuffed his guts, he starts

¹⁰ These stylistic etc. glosses are taken from the 4-volume *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, Prague, 1971 (hereafter *SSJČ*) since it is more comprehensive than *SSČ*; it makes no allowance for the shift in the language's centre of gravity which *SSČ* seeks to capture, and many expressions are simply missing from *SSČ* owing to its much smaller size. At the same time, the extremeness of the language of *Měsíc jde nahoru* is such that some of the expressions contained in it are missing even from *SSJČ*. A case in point is the verb *pušit* 'reek', not recorded even in any of the several more recent dictionaries of Czech slang.

vůbec o věcech mezi nebem a zemí, jak říká transcendentních. Má zvukný sytý tembr, který mne dráždí špatně ztajovanou disonancí estetické nadřazenosti a kluzce jízlivým povýšenectvím.

musings with nobility on the things that lie between heaven and earth, 'transidental' things, as he puts it. He has a full, resonant timbre, which irritates me with its poorly concealed dissonance of an aesthete's sense of superiority and slippily caustic arrogance.'

A further, and different, type of insecurity for Czech, or the Czech-writing author of *Měsíc jde nahoru* (but not this alone), stems from morphology. What surprises most in this work, with its dominant non-literary tenor, is the conspicuously low incidence of Common Czech inflections, or other manifestations of the phonological features which distinguish this version of Czech from the standard language. For outside direct speech non-standard forms in the first chapter are limited practically to *lidi* for *lidé*¹¹ and two instances of the instrumental plural in *-ama*, namely *táhlo to mne za klukama*¹² 'I felt an urge to go and join the lads' and *brouzdali za holkama* 'they were chasing birds [= girls]'. The two phrases are, of course, closely linked semantically, and, within colloquial Czech, let alone in a text conspicuous for its non-standard (sub-standard) register overall, are probably fixed in these forms almost irrespective of the prevailing background style. The same arguments apply to the sole instance of a nominative singular masculine adjectival form in *-ej*, in the phrase *jsem dobrej* (but why not *sem dobrej*?) 'I'm all right', which, given the particular semantics of *dobrej* 'good' here, could barely be replaced by *dobrý*. Thus while some kind of semantic justification for these isolated forms can be found, it remains odd that these most obtrusive of all Common Czech morphological features are not better represented when we consider the overall tenor. The effect is of a perverse, stubborn little boy who insists he will speak how he likes, with whatever coarse and colourful features that might bring with it, but as soon as it is to be written down the filter of habits inculcated at school does not let large quantities of sub-standard forms through, even if the words to which they might have been attached were maximally far removed from the literary standard.

However, if it is the case that the contemporary native Czech reader of Stuchlý's text finds it in some way balanced (in the reverse case it would perhaps not even have been published — at least in its day, which is a little early for the more *laissez-faire* attitude to publishing that followed the fall of Communism), this would constitute a case for carrying

¹¹ *lidi* has since been sponsored quite earnestly for a place at least at the lower end of the scale within the standard language; it has long been strongly 'upwardly mobile' in the sense referred to earlier; see, among others, Sgall and Hronek: *Čeština bez příkras* (Note 4), *passim*.

¹² Notice here too what might be thought by some to be the distinctly quaint (stylistically inept) juxtaposition of the Common Czech instrumental form and the moribund high-style non-enclitic pronoun *mne* used in an enclitic function (for *mě*).

out an analysis of its language and style (and that of writers using a similar patchwork of raw material) and finding a suitable label for it. It cannot be called 'literary', given the obvious effort put into its being non-standard; on the other hand only some of the aspects and elements involved are unequivocally Common Czech, probably because, as indicated, this is a written text. Nor do other available labels, such as 'colloquial standard Czech' or 'commonly spoken Czech',¹³ fit exactly for this type of text. The principles by which such 'written Common Czech' texts are governed need to be described recurrently; only in this way can one keep abreast of any changing norms (it is likely to change along with changing patterns in the various kinds of Czech that contribute to it).

It is not the desire to see this work, or any similar work, or even any literary work at all, crammed into a strait-jacket. Even the terms 'standard' or 'literary Czech' and 'Common Czech' have here been used without definition, as if they were in some sense understood as not requiring one. Yet neither formation of the language has firmly defined contours, nor is the opposition between them simply bipolar; to pretend otherwise would be an oversimplification.

There are two further details which need to be mentioned in seeking to characterize this type of text. One is again concerned with the vocabulary used, specifically the alien (classical) intrusions, the incidence of which seems disproportionate to the general key in which the text is composed. We might concede that *Pyrrhovo vítězství* 'Pyrrhic victory' has penetrated 'ordinary' Czech usage, but *spiritus rector*, *pavor nocturnus* and *panta rhei* seem improbable coming from the lips of one such as Ctibor — unless his confessed role as a poseur is from the outset more extreme than the reader had suspected. On the other hand, to the extent that the author's objective was to exploit all the peripheral elements of Czech (from the upper *and* lower end of the scale), then such alien elements undoubtedly belong in it — on an experimental basis. But Ctibor would not seem to be an appropriate vehicle for such an experiment. One has to conclude with Pynsent that the language generally represents an '[ineffective combination of] the tough-kid style with the folksy and highly literary'.¹⁴

The second detail relates to the external form of the text. Czech journalists (in particular) and some other writers habitually arm themselves against the accusation that they may have used a stylistically or otherwise inappropriate form by putting the offending expression in inverted commas. It follows from what has already been said that Ctibor employs an endless array of such expressions, though without the protective inverted commas — at least in most cases. Throughout the book there are, however, exceptions in which the inverted commas are employed with no apparent motivation. They are a handful of real slang

¹³ These are translations of the Czech terms *hovorová spisovná čeština* and *běžně mluvená čeština*.

¹⁴ 'Social Criticism', p.16.

or expressive words, or words used expressively or metaphorically. Such inverted commas are at variance with the general linguistically provocative spirit of the book, and yet another indicator of the very sense of 'insecurity' of Czech and some of those who use it which led to these remarks.

LANGUAGE, PARALANGUAGE AND METALANGUAGE IN KAROL HORÁK'S SÚPIS DRAVCOV¹

Comic dialogue is humor plus anthropology

Leo Rosten

Karol Horák was born in 1943 in Katarínska Huta, Lučenec district, in south central Slovakia. He studied at the Košice/Prešov university and now lectures on Slovak literature at the Arts Faculty in Prešov. He is also active in the professional and amateur theatre in Prešov and has written or produced a number of plays. Some have been broadcast on radio.

His prose output has been more slender, but no less successful. His first prose work was *Cukor* (Sugar), a novel which won the publishers' annual prize. It is the story of a mother who undertakes something like a pilgrimage, northwards from where she lives, to barter tobacco for sugar. She has no sugar in the period immediately after the end of World War II, when the supply system is still chaotic, and so this ageing, almost saintly woman is reduced to hauling her sack of tobacco across the country on foot. The immediate motivation for the trip is the perhaps imagined craving of her pregnant daughter and any possible danger lack of sugar may present to the unborn child. On her journey she has to contend with the hostile conditions of the mountains in winter and encounters a mixture of kindness and hospitality, greed, hostility and bleak indifference from people she meets on the way.

Since *Cukor* is not the main theme of this essay, I shall say nothing of its lyricality, its interpolated stories, its graphic portrayal of some of the characteristics and consequences of the war and the Slovak National Uprising for 'independent' Slovakia, or of the contrast presented between utter selfless good and 'bourgeois materialist' baseness. Suffice it to say that *Cukor* is an emotionally appealing story, economically told, which avoids the sentimentalization into which its subject might all too easily have led the narrator.²

¹ Reprinted, with some amendments and updating, from Robert B. Pynsent (ed.): *Modern Slovak Prose: Fiction since 1954*, London, 1990.

² *Cukor* was widely reviewed, but one of the most sensitive and thoughtful accounts of how it differs conspicuously from the mainstream of modern Slovak prose is Alexander Halvoník's 'Slávnosť pohybu', *Romboid*, 15, 1980, 7, pp.80-82.

Many critics have referred to experimental aspects of *Cukor*, but it is not surprising that even more is made of the experimental nature of *Súpis dravcov* - 'A list of predators [or 'raptors']' (Bratislava, 1979).³ *Súpis dravcov*, for which the literal translation of the title is totally inadequate, is a short work consisting of two *novelle*, each with a title of its own, 'Zánik dialektu' (The Demise of a Dialect) and 'Kurz jazyka' (The Language Course).

'Zánik dialektu' is the beguiling story of the efforts of an ageing philologist to capture the last remnants of a particular, hitherto undescribed, local dialect in the mountains of Slovakia as evidence for the history of proto-Slovak migration. It is an acutely felt personal mission to collect and collate material on the language, at all costs, before either he dies or the dialect is wiped out through interference from incomers once the network of main roads reaches the area. (There is an element of realism within the general theme in that the book appeared at a time when work was progressing apace on the Slovak national dialect atlas, though this background barely encroaches on the text beyond one passing reference to the needs of the Academy of Sciences [p.11] and a couple of references to the atlas as such, for example on p.44.) The old dialectologist is accompanied on his wanderings by a local sixth-former who, by his age and background, finds the whole enterprise rather ludicrous. Nevertheless he does accompany him to the various poor cottages where speaker-informants thought to be good examples of the dialect live, though he declines to be fully involved in the interviews. He remains an observer not only of the linguist's 'follies', but also of the environment, which is so backward that he, unlike the scholar, cannot wait for modernity to reach the area. The scholar eventually dies, abruptly, in the middle of a wake, which was almost an ideal setting for making notes on the dialect in which he is interested. He leaves behind him his tapes containing what the reader has seen as interpolated tales told by the informants. Their subsequent fate is left entirely open, though the reader is probably correct in surmising that all the work, and the tramping over the hills to do it, had been in vain. Dialect and dialectologist die together, and the wake is as much for the dialect as for the deceased.

The second story, 'Kurz jazyka', describes a week spent by the central character at an intensive language course organized at his place of work — the kind of thing that did occasionally happen in late socialist Czechoslovakia. In other words, there is once more a background realism, but as with 'Zánik dialektu' it has no direct bearing on the story. The action, such as it is, for it is even more underplayed than in the first piece, is in the narrator's bewildered piecing together of what had happened after he had been on a pub-crawl with his friend. They had fought over a woman; he had bashed his friend's head

³ Halvoník alone played down the experimental qualities of *Súpis dravcov*: 'It is probably pointless to emphasize the "experimental" nature since what is unconventional in it is organically tied in with its content and is unlikely to have any deliberate programmatic status.' Ibid., p.81.

against a wall; he remembers the friend's falling and banging his head again on a railway line: he recalls dragging him off to the school equipment room to recover, and finding him dead the next morning. He simply does not know whether he had killed him, or whether his friend had fatally injured himself. All this takes place against the background of, indeed merges with, the language course, which is conducted by a direct method, involving shutting out one's native tongue and beginning the foreign language from the position of a languageless child who has to learn *ab initio* how to name things, form simple utterances and so on. As the main character's mind is blanketed by post-alcohol amnesia, so the classroom is often blacked out, for the projection of slides and films. The story concerns not only language, but also conscience and consciousness, reality and illusion, cause and effect, and it also attempts, to adapt Halvoník, a striking juxtaposition of the ontological situation and a situational model.⁴

One theme of both pieces in *Súpis dravcov* is, then, language in various manifestations.⁵ 'Zánik dialektu' concerns the conservation of a language, a dialect, on the brink of 'death', while 'Kurz jazyka', superficially at least, concerns the 'birth' of a user's second language. What is at first sight remarkable is that there is more than a hint that both activities are of questionable long-term value, indeed are ends in themselves,⁶ at least as far as the main characters are concerned. What makes it so remarkable is the sheer breadth and depth of language-consciousness, found in Slovak writers in general, but in Karol Horák in particular.⁷ The perceived demise of the dialect with the scholar's own death,⁸ in other

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Indeed Horák, in an interview with *Rozhlas*, 1980, 51, p.24, describes language as the work's protagonist.

⁶ In his review of the work, 'Vizitka prozaickej vyspelosti', *Večerník*, 17 April 1980, p.5, Ivan Sulík accepts as an entirely positive matter that the scholar is trying selflessly to retrieve the dying linguistic and folklore heritage of the village, which is itself indifferent to its cultural heritage. By contrast, Ladislav Čúzy, 'Poetika a interpretačné možnosti (nad prózami Karola Horáka)', *Romboid*, 17, 1982, 4, pp.22-26, notes that doubt is cast on the value of such work. He believes the intent is purely satirical of collection-mania, unsupported by any positive results, and would doubtless agree that this is a portrayal of the type of 'intellectuals [who] place too high a premium on the sheer ingestion of data' (Leo Rosten, *The Return of Hyman Kaplan*, London, 1959, p.18). This too is not entirely fair, since we do know the kind of conclusions the scholar hopes to reach.

⁷ Another modern example of transparent linguistic (as opposed to literary) language consciousness, but exploited to effect in literature, is Ivan Hudec's 'Saský genitiv, vokáň a ja' (The Saxon Genitive, Circumflex and I), which is an extended play on certain orthographic devices in English and Slovak, including a sideways look at the consequences of the conceit for dialect. The story is in the collection *Záhľadný úsmev štrbavého anjela* (The Mysterious Smile of a Gap-toothed Angel), Bratislava, 1987, pp.132-39.

words, its (ultimate, probable) disappearance but for the artificial, sterile, form of his notes and tapes, together with the failure of the language course, which had little chance of success from the outset, indicates perhaps that language, real living language as speech, is what is paramount. In the surviving dialect-speakers the dialect is not dead, inconsequential to them though it be, and, for the students of the language course, their *own* language and the ability to express their needs and fears in it is the supreme — and an inevitable — necessity. All this underlines the truisms that speech has priority over writing and that we use our language faculties far more in oral communication than in other media. These underlying facts are quite proper to the domain of a writer otherwise associated with drama. Formally, 'Kurz jazyka' owes a great deal to the dramatic text,⁹ and in 'Zánik dialektu' it is far more important to have the philologist's informants talk to us direct, in the interpolated stories, than to be given any details of the kind of notes he makes or of how he intends to process his taped material. In short, Horák, while using a language researcher and a foreign-language student (and perforce a teacher) as his main props, characters from the realm of both pure, descriptive linguistics (dialectology) and applied linguistics, is not actually interested in linguistics as such. The uses of language here become a literary study, *par excellence*, far removed from the dryness of which Horák would, presumably, accuse contemporary linguistics.

It is perhaps interesting to note that in 1984-85, five years after the appearance of *Súpis dravcov*, an open polemic was pursued between writers and linguists. It began when Beňo Kapolka complained that the Slovak literary language was a burden and a mere status symbol. For the linguists František Kočíš (*Kultúra slova*, 18, 1984, pp.289-92) took up the cudgels against this view, arguing for a more imaginative use of language, particularly on the radio, and encouraging professional language-users to invite the co-operation of linguists more regularly. Most of issue 4 of *Kultúra slova*, 19 (1985), was then self-defensively devoted to challenging the charges of the anti-linguistics brigade and seeking to demonstrate that Slovakia's linguists had always sought to tread carefully between warranted standardization and the excesses of purism. This particular skirmish is one reflection of the constant disquiet over the language prescription and standardization that is so notorious in

⁸ It is unfortunate that the scholar's death was not mentioned by reviewers. Clearly to do so would be to deprive the readers they hope to encourage to turn to the book of the discovery of the dénouement; but without mentioning it they deprive themselves of a whole line of reasoning which this essay will seek to follow. 'LC' in *Nové knihy*, 27 November 1980, p.1, came closest, but did not see how it contradicts his other claims for the book.

⁹ A point noted by Čúzy, though in terms of the film scenario, and by the author of the entry on Horák in *Encyklopédia slovenských spisovateľov* (Bratislava, 1984), vol.1, pp.204-05, who describes it as a *scénická montáž* (scenic montage) and a work 'more vocal than specifically literary and book-like'. This neatly encapsulates the irony of having to express in writing, which is permanent, that which is essentially transient.

societies (Slovak, Bulgarian, Czech, French, Russian, Spanish and so forth) which have official bodies to keep tabs on the state language.¹⁰ I have found little direct reference to the function of the title *Súpis dravcov*,¹¹ but it is tempting, among all the predators which one might discern in the work, to see the linguists or philologists, scavenging¹² among the output of the literati, as fairly high on the list of possible interpretations.

The two stories are not closely linked in plot or content, though Halvoník argues persuasively that the second offers a key to the first. They both, however, encompass a wealth of ideas on language, some more, some less explicit. Most of them can be distilled down into the overall idea that language, at all levels and viewed from whatever angle, is fraught with paradox.

The first paradox is that between the total freedom of spoken language, speech, and the constraining effect of written language. This is not an original idea by any means. However, the evidence for the paradox is here presented with unusual subtlety. The difficulty for the writer is in getting it across using the only permanent method available to him, namely the written text, which involves a degree of unavoidable, rather than deliberate, self-irony, of which he is doubtless aware. In 'Zánik dialektu' the freedom of the spoken form can be seen in several ways, the main one of which is the very elusiveness of the dialect which the scholar is seeking to capture. Not for nothing is he described by the *Ich* as a *lovec*

¹⁰ Ivan Sulík's review contains a foretaste of the debate, attacking the anti-linguists and using Horák as an example of what can be done by the linguistically sophisticated writer. I believe his view of Horák is thus far correct, but Horák is a 'literary linguist' with no pretensions to being a 'linguist' as such. I suspect the idea might horrify him.

¹¹ Sulík's review mentions the *dravci* in inverted commas, but it is by no means clear who or what he thinks they are. Implicit in Halvoník's review is that *dravost'* (rapacity, impetuosity) is a ravenous, dynamic yearning for knowledge, closely associated with the *pohyb* (motion) of the review's title (see Note 2): 'a transformation of movement by means of artistic language, a testing of language's capacity to capture that which is transitory, ever-changing and never standing still alongside that which is constant and unchanging, an investigative [also 'reconnaissance'] shooting of the word at big-bellied banalities, suspected anaemias, relative voids and much-vaunted certainties' (p.81).

¹² My image of scavenging is meant entirely non-technically. There is in any case no native Slovak term for 'scavenger', as opposed to *dravec*, except the loan-word *saprofág*, which the common readership would not know, although there are species-specific terms suggesting in particular carrion-scavengers (cf. the Slovak translation of the first version of this paper in *Romboid*, March 1988). If my image were taken strictly, it would be an insult to literature in general and Horák in particular. For scavengers haunt the dead and putrescent, while predators, *dravci*, prey on the living. If my interpretation of the title of *Súpis dravcov* has any foundation, then it would also require acceptance of the view that literature, as well as language, is a living organism.

motyľov (butterfly hunter) or *naháňač motyľov* (beater, as in the hunt, of butterflies). The butterfly is not easy to catch; it flits from place to place, as do the scholar and his lethargic guide in their search for the dialect.¹³ Moreover, butterflies have only an ephemeral existence, as does any one, synchronically viewed, stage in a language. With the primacy of spoken language comes man's freedom to name things, imitatively, or however he likes. In 'Zánik dialektu' this freedom is used to the fullest. Throughout, whether in the *Ich's* narration, or in the interpolated tales spoken by Páleníčka or Ján Poljovka, there is copious paralinguistic invention in the shape of phonetic (rather than onomatopoeic) representation of sound. Some is conventional, such as *bum, bum* (p.10) for knocking on a door, but open to development for a more determined, agitated hammering: *bam-bum-bam-bum-bumdy-bum* (p.11); others are met in an already developed form, such as *drindidrin* (p.23) and *drandadran* (p.23-24) for the sound of a mandolin, *pamparárampampam* (p.71) for a funeral brass band, *blingcingililingicingiling* (p.40) for a shop bell, *ech, ech, ech - prt, prt, prt* (p.35) for an old van staggering uphill, *hřch, hřch* (p.54) for a dog growling, *hau-haf-auvuviřř* for a hesitant and *auveuveuúúú* (p.64) for a determined, desperate howl of another dog lamenting his master's death, *fufufu, dududu, řřřř, cveng-beng* and *rach-rach-rach* (p.33) for a motorbike proceeding up hill and down dale on a dirt road; and then the human sounds, from *achichuchichřř* (p.20) for girls giggling in church to *achrap* (p.11) for a businesslike spit, *trúút* (p.11) for nose-blowing, *cvak-cvak-cvanky* and *cingi-cangi* or *cungi-cangi-cung* (p.25) for the clatter of teeth and jaws during an epileptic fit — with the *-ng-* jocularly conveying the metallic clank of a single gold tooth, or *acheichú* (p.16) for a cough. An extension of the same principles expresses various actions which may or may not be connected with sound, such as *cupi-lupi* (p.10) for a brisk walk, *řřřř-lipi* (p.10) for a goose pecking at the scholar's trousers, *řmur-řmur-řmúri* (p.11) for a cat blinking in the sunlight, *klap-klip-klap* (p.12) for footsteps on (presumably) a wooden floor, and *mřadzgi-mřadzgi* (p.16) for fallen apples crunching underfoot. A significant feature of all of these is that they function freely in syntax as verbs, adverbs, nouns or interjections; all that is already possible in Slovak with onomatopoeia, but usually to a much more limited degree. Little attention is paid to the device in grammar and relatively few instances are recorded (recordable) in dictionaries;¹⁴ such works are by nature constraining and at variance with the freedom I am concerned with.

Some of the items in this class are developed morphologically to become 'true' verbs, as in *brumbrumká* (p.42) for a mumbled *aa* with the lips closed, or *guliguligúřřala* (p.23) for a metaphorical star rolling across the sky (actually the movement of a gold tooth during a song).

¹³ The parallel with Don Quixote did not escape reviewers, for example, Halvoník or Čúzy, in their respective reviews, see Notes 2 and 5.

¹⁴ One such is *pif*, occurring here and there in 'Zánik dialektu', and *řřřř* (here *řřřřřř*, p.58).

This freedom of noises and the linguistic freedom to (re-)create them as primary meaningful speech sounds is complemented by a folksy tendency to create other ricochet expressions, such as the standard *lárý-fáry* (here: 'casually', p.30), the Slovak-Hungarian rhyming synonym compound *fúz-bajúz* (whiskers, p.33) and *kocúrik-košťúrik* (tom-cat, p.24).

Another area of free linguistic creativity is punning. The effectiveness of the puns varies. Among the effective are *Šakový mal figy, teraz má figu, figy mám ja* (p.37), based on 'figs' and a sense of 'fig' akin to the English 'not care a fig', and the double characterization of the teacher as *ľavý bečok* (left-back, dimin.) and *ľavoboček* (bastard) (p.53).

Just as sounds and actions need to be named, so too do unique entities, in other words places and persons. In '*Zánik dialektu*' there is ample evidence of the 'natural', or obsolescent, patterns of giving personal names, the various devices for distinguishing among male members of the same family: 'senior' versus 'junior' versus 'middle' *Ivanič Ján*; *Ivanič Jozef* the I, II and II; nicknames based on alternative reduplicated consonants: *Ivanič Nanaj*, *Ivanič Papaj* and the scatological *Ivanič Kakaj* (pp.9-10);¹⁵ and the 'free' variation between nominative singular and genitive plural for adjectival surnames in the case of *Poudruhý, -ých*, the teacher. On top of that we have folksy surnames themselves, such as *Čušpajsk* or *Poljovka*, which originate in nicknames. Toponyms are equally clearly folk-descriptive, but the only linguistic fun involving them is the name of the main village, *Vyslanka*, whose original, also scatological, name *Vysranka* would once not have mattered, but has been switched as sensitivities developed.¹⁶ At the same time this is a side-swipe at the politically motivated habit of changing place-names that had been perhaps more widespread in Slovakia than any other territory given to such practices.¹⁷

In '*Kurz jazyka*' the 'freedom of the spoken language' is manifested only marginally. The only elements of paralanguage are the quasi-verbal *gagaga* and *kvakvakva* (p.111) of empty, meaningless talk at the farewell party after the course (symbolic of the total lack of real communication throughout the enterprise), the graphemically inventive *PĶĶK* (p.103)

¹⁵ This type of name-giving had been another target for linguists in a variety of articles in issues of *Onomastický zpravodaj* and *Receuil linguistique de Bratislava*, which adds to the topicality of *Súpis dravcov*.

¹⁶ One thinks of the English change from forms in *piddle* to forms in *puddle* in certain Dorset toponyms.

¹⁷ Since the departure of the Communist regime and the acquisition of independence, Slovakia has continued to observe the practice on a grand scale, as, however, have many post-Communist societies in Central and Eastern Europe.

for the sound of a projector, and the pseudo-Magyar counting-out rhyme used by a child playing with a dog: *án, tán, tabo kán, ertek, bertek, baran, bokoš, cirik - pes* (p.99). 'Kurz jazyka' also contains puns, including quite a complex pun involving *hrbolec* (heap, lump), *hrob* (grave), *hrb* (hump), *chrbat* (back) (p.90), which serves to concentrate attention on the importance of the *hrbolec* of soil stolen from a grave and its being the only usable (real, natural) soil for potting house-plants in the unnatural gravel, concrete and steel environment of the city. In the domain of names, the character who may or may not have been killed is called Číž (siskin), and some of the linguistic invention, including one cliché that is perhaps a pun, centres on the bird-world. Číž itself is onomatopoeic, which is appropriate in a work of this nature, and, like other names, it can be played with: by diminutive-formation to *čížik*¹⁸ and by nick-name transfer to *Čimčarára* (a normal Slovak representation of twittering). This is used in answer to a subsidiary question under Question 13 in an oral exercise based on 'an outdated textbook' which looks increasingly like a police interrogation. When the *Ich* is presumably affected by his conscience, his clock *čipčali* (went tweet-tweet), and a quasi-witness's quasi-statement about the night Číž dies refers punningly to *dva ja noční vtáci* (two night-owls, literally 'birds of the night', p.100), that is Číž and the narrator, whose name we do not know, but for whom Číž is not unlike an *alter ego*. The other name which is played with in 'Kurz jazyka' is *Ildika*, the (living) girl over whom Číž and the narrator had quarrelled, and the name on the grave where the soil was purloined. It is tempting, in the light of what we know of the narrator's attitude to nature, the countryside, 'real' soil and so forth, as opposed to the town, to see in *Ildika* also a near-anagram of *idylka* (cosy idyll); the cemetery with its rank grass and flowers is a cosy idyll in contrast to the brutality of life beyond its walls.

The opposite of the freedom and primacy of spoken language is the contrasting effect of the written, which is invariably portrayed as ludicrous. The narrator of 'Zánik dialektu' makes the scholar's vocal renderings and annotations of stress, rhythm and intonation totally ridiculous — in his rendition of *čo vám včely ušli* as *tatátatátáá*, written down as *čo vám - čiara* (dash), *čely - oblúk* (arc) *ušli - tátararáá*: *vlnovka* (wavy line); the irony is that the utterance he is recording was in any case *čo vám čely* (that is, colloquial *včely*) *uleteli* (p.15). His *rarirará*, *rarúrerí* and *oblúčiky - vlnovky - čiarky* and so on become satirical refrains debunking Academe. The very descriptions of the scholar as he tries to 'entrap' the dialect

¹⁸ If one wished to stretch the view that Horák is 'having a go' at the linguists, even this name is worthy of note: *číž* is a dialect word for the siskin; *čížik*, in full *čížik obyčajný*, is the well established name for the bird, but under (then) recent changes in the nomenclature it is now officially called *stehlík čížavý*. While the appliance of science has thus brought members of *Carduelis* together terminologically (for example, siskin and goldfinch — *stehlík obyčajný*), it has also committed the double silliness of deliberately divorcing Slovak further from Czech, a 'policy' that caused raised eyebrows on both sides of the Carpathians when it was at its height, and of elevating an onomatopoeic (more or less) nonce-word, *čížavý*, which does not even figure in the dictionary, to the status of a species-defining adjective.

by his recordings and notes is also pejorative. He is a rather silly butterfly-catcher (an allusion to *Lolita*?), an incompetently predatory tom-cat, the whole proceeding is conducted as a mission — not a scholarly mission, but a military campaign: for he wears ex-army boots; he attacks (*je v útoku*, p.10) the village geese by kicking at them; he bellicosely (*bojovne*, *ibid.*) hurls stones at dogs; his fist is *v akcii* (in action, p.11) on the school-house door; he is *na pochode* (marching up and down, p.12) as he explains things to the teacher; hearing that the destructive impact of the new roads is closer than he feared, he packs his bag and *jedna, a dve, a tri, a štyri, a päť a šesť - cvak* (one and two and three and four and five and six, click - his bag shutting, or heels clicking, p.13), before heading into the *terén* (terrain, *ibid.*), and he calls *popol a síru* (fire and brimstone) down upon those who would destroy the dialect he wishes to save. His militant approach to his work is not just a portrayal through the eyes of the *Ich*: for it is not by chance that his own account of the general dialect division of Slovak entails the word *nájazd* (incursion, p.18) to explain the separation of West from East Slovak by the more distinctive Central Slovak, or that modern interference between dialects is viewed as *násilie* (violence, p.14) perpetrated against an old language. Whether he is to be seen as a brusque, business-like soldier on campaign or a knight in shining armour, he is still as ridiculous as a would-be language-trapper. The irony is that his death means his efforts are brought to nought, but his is not the death of a tragic hero.

In 'Kurz jazyka' there is a more open criticism of the unfreedom of written language, and other 'unnatural' registers of spoken language, chiefly the language of authority. The falseness of the textbook questions is an obvious case, and the criticism is all the more forceful because the textbook used so closely approaches a police interrogation. The text of a presumably internal circular concerning the reasons for the course's being established is an exemplar of officialese; it is couched in automatic phrases like *Pre potreby vzdelávania* (in the interest of education, p.79). The language of literature is shown to be debased in a parody of the *Natureingang*, the setting of time and place and the introduction to the hero in a detective novel, here masquerading as a 'retelling in one's own words' of a story in the language class (p.96). The language of widespread injunctions is also shown up as of dubious merit: waxed-paper beer beakers are inscribed *Po použití zničte* (Destroy after use, p.111); the authoritarian teacher does just that, but by throwing one on the ground and jumping on it. It is no accident that Horák has here worked into his text a superficially innocent and perfectly proper piece of advice, but one which is expressed in the imperative, involves the semantics of destruction and is then distorted in the observance by the main representative of authority in the story.

The second paradox of language which Horák investigates is that of language as both living and dead, as an evolving organism and a fossil, as an instrument for the original writer as opposed to the laboratory specimen of the linguist, or language as the property of the individual as opposed to the collective. It is essentially an opposition of points of view, roughly collateral with the natural and the unnatural.

The linguist in 'Zánik dialektu' is overjoyed to find in the dialect of Vyslanka a relic of the state of Slovak five to seven centuries previously. It is not dead, but he is treating it at best as a living fossil, which he (foolishly) wants to petrify in his notebooks and tape-recorder. He is affected, however, by blindness to the fact that close inspection shows very little difference indeed between the language of his two main (aged) informants and that of his young guide. Furthermore he is tacitly portrayed as inhumane or anti-human, not only in his treatment of dogs and geese, but in his failure to realize that the dialect is only interesting (that is, archaic) because the village is so backward — electricity is a recent innovation, some cottages have only compacted earth floors, and people are still terrified of aeroplanes. (Using a concept close to them, one old villager inventively describes a biplane as 'flying yokes' [*jarmá*], p.46.) The most imposing building in the village is the school-house, which is served by a teacher who never completed his training course (he had been thrown out for failing dialectology) and who is also best known for his erstwhile prowess as a footballer. Even the new road is intended to serve the commercial interests of a nearby quarry and will benefit the villagers only secondarily.

The opposite of the linguist's 'unnatural' attitude to language is the more 'natural' attitude of the writer of literature, demonstrated (actually paradoxically) by the existence of the work itself. Features mentioned earlier — standard, poetic, dialectal, expressive and vulgar, can all be described as 'natural'. Part of the paradox is that this is literary artifice and experiment with form, taking the language registers to places they have not been before.

The victory of the 'natural' attitude is achieved in two ways. One is in the human approach to the character called (tellingly) Šakový (almost 'Everyman'), bearer of not only what the scholar could describe as a *hnusný* (disgusting) interdialect, but actually of the most amazing idiolect. There are far more linguistically fascinating elements in his speech than in that of any other character; that exemplifies the view that the individual is more important than the group; and it is the writer, through his narrator, who has given us this closely observed picture without learned commentary, not the scholar.¹⁹ The second way by which the victory of the 'natural' is achieved lies in the very fact that the scholar collapses and dies. The drunken local vet does try to revive him, but the chief irony is that he might have been saved had the road which he had so damned been already built. While the road might well 'destroy' the purity of the dialect, it will serve the people. It will also probably create linguistically and otherwise more individual characters through the greater mobility it will facilitate, and so might become the salvation of even such dry-as-dust undesirables as dialectologists. Note also that the place from which the new road is to be built is called

¹⁹ The speech of Šakový, far more than of any of the other characters, has such linguistic distinctiveness that, in its creative (that is literary, not linguistic) transcription, it 'seduce[s] the eye to reach the ear and [is] orchestrated in the brain' (Rosten, *The Return of Hyman Kaplan*, p.14).

Žiaľ (sorrow, grief, or 'what a pity!).

The 'natural' versus 'unnatural' theme in 'Kurz jazyka' is connected largely with the process of foreign-language learning, which is inherently an unnatural process. In the extreme method selected the learners are required to put their mother-tongue out of their minds, which demands an enormous, perhaps superhuman effort at pretence. For with it they are expected to blank out their minds and memories, which survive by nature in mother-tongue preconditioning. That this is a well-nigh impossible psychological exercise is underlined from the outset by the fact that the teacher, called a *komentátor*, and having about him much of the policeman or 'Big Brother', is portrayed as a man in a white coat. This suggests that his charges are mentally deficient (which they would be if the method of tuition had a sound basic premise) and alienated. The idea of alienation becomes dehumanization where the students become variously *predmety* (objects; in 'Zánik dialektu' the scholar's informants are also occasionally so labelled) or just ciphers (numbered 1, 2, 3 as questions go round the classroom), and people in a picture become 'animate nouns'.

Moreover, much of the teaching is conducted in the dark; thus the only perceptible things in the environment are sounds and smells. It is not surprising that the unnamed central character is desperate to find himself, be himself, by dashing off to the natural world of the woods — *vrútiť sa do lesa: čistinka - lysina - lúka*,²⁰ which becomes a refrain, re-humanizing the girl-student, 'No. 3', to whom the self-searching narrator attaches the Hungarian name Ildika.

A possible third paradox in this work lies in the conceptions of language as a prison and language as a free agent. It is perhaps better seen as part of the opposition of the first paradox (freedom of spoken language versus constraints of written language), but it has overtones which put it on an altogether different plane. More is made of it in 'Kurz jazyka' than in 'Zánik dialektu'. A connection also with the second paradox is that prison is an unnatural state, and the course is conducted in a prison-like atmosphere. It is compulsory; the *komentátor* may be seen as much as a warder as any other kind of authority; the building where the course is held is in the country, but it represents not the freedom associated with the country as in 'Zánik dialektu', but a miniature of the city as prison, an unnatural closed environment; through the teaching method employed, people become metaphorically locked in things and things in people, until there is no fundamental difference between them. The

²⁰ This is a good example of Horákian deftness with language. From *les* (forest) he switches to *čistinka* (a forest clearing, bearing the semantics of *čistý* - pure, clean), thence to the near-synonymous *lysina*, but referring to a treeless patch not necessarily in the forest, then to *lúka* (meadow), a far larger open space, joined to *lysina* by alliteration. By a switch from the genitive *lesa* to the nominative of the other three expressions he has also achieved word-final assonance, a typical piece of the sound-consciousness so much more at home in 'Zánik dialektu', but rare in the world of 'Kurz jazyka'.

pupils become locked in the (unnatural, constrained) fairy-tale world of the picture they are supposed to describe. In the dungeon-like classroom words lose, rather than gain, meaning: all that registers with the narrator at one point is the *nežné trenie jazyka o pery* (the gentle friction of tongue on lips [p.86]; the nearest we get to the illusion that language is being dispensed with as required, the organs of speech working on in their pre-linguistic way). The main image of words as a prison comes at the opening of chapter 5. Here words enter the mind subliminally, surreptitiously, now lulling the receiver to sleep, now jerking him awake, but they *udržujú stále v zajatí* (keep one constantly captive, p.102). The old words (ideas, memories) have had to be put away, but the new words offer no security. They are so overwhelming you cannot hear yourself breathe; they deaden the senses and it is a struggle to crack their shell and enter their world. Liberation appears to come at the end, with the party held to mark the completion of the course, and for a moment the text reads almost like something out of 'Zánik dialektu', with more paralanguage, more puns, more playing with names. Outside the classroom the *Ich* almost becomes himself again. The complication is that he is tied to the city, the elusive chimera Ildika likewise, and the new language which he has not adopted has somehow deprived him of meaningful speech. His mouth has grown over leaving nothing but a hyphen. And it was in the hostile city that Číž's still unresolved death took place, on which his memory remains blank, and neither language can help him. The irony of the situation is the belief of some students that possession of a language *eo ipso* offers another form of liberation. For the teacher, probably thanks to his linguistic knowledge, is being posted to Mexico as a diplomat and the students suspect that they too may now have better chances of travelling *von* (out, p.111). This is the source of a triple pun, which ironizes the situation even further, given that puns have previously been used in a purely playful, non-destructive way. The semantics of *von* cover: a) 'getting out of prison', here present only tacitly, b) 'going abroad', which is how it is first used by the students in reference to their own chances of matching the teacher-diplomat's future, and c) 'leaving the classroom to go to the lavatory', which is how the teacher-as-teacher interprets it in replying to the student's question.²¹ All three meanings emphasize the position of authority and privilege of the 'teacher' as ruler of the microcosm and thus of rulers generally. The whole leaves us with the sense that there is no third paradox, that plainly and simply language is imprisoning; but the other side lies essentially in the freedom of the natural (first two paradoxes) and in the fact that it is language itself that has enabled the author to see a situation, make the point and, like the psychiatrist's patient made to talk out his problem, be liberated. In this sense 'Kurz jazyka' ought to be optimistic, but it is only optimism tempered by the parallel, non-linguistic plot of post-alcohol amnesia and the outstanding problem of Číž's death.

Language as a prison barely comes into 'Zánik dialektu', but there are shades of it

²¹ This is just one example of the vulgarization of language and the philosophy of language in which the teacher indulges.

when, during World War II, Šakový had been labelled a Czech because of the quaint language patterns in which he is trapped, and the authorities tried to expel him to the German Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. His linguistic anarchy is mirrored by his refusal to be tied to any place of origin at all, or his insistence on being from where he happens to be at any given time. A man for all seasons and places.

Horák is an outstanding observer of language in use. This is evident both in characterization and in the reproduction of individual speech. In 'Zánik dialektu' the *Ich* is a schoolboy, and his language has not only the general richness of rural speech, but is also rich in the expression of irreverent schoolboy attitudes to teachers (the teacher is *bývalý nepriateľ* [my former enemy, p.12] and the school door is *pekelná brána* [the Gate to Hell, p.10]) and authority generally, including the Church. We see this in his use of metaphors from sport, mostly athletics and football (the dialect-hunting trip itself is a *pur', klus, atletika s prekážkami* [a hike, a trot, an obstacle race, p.10]) and in the language of textbooks from a variety of lessons, entirely appropriate to his mock indulgence for learning in the presence of the scholar, the teacher and the school-house itself. His description of the village houses in un-Slovak Slovak as *drevenokamennohlinasté* (wooden-stone-mud, p.9) is redolent of the geography textbook. The village's being deserted at harvest time reminds him that it would be a good opportunity for the Turks to attack and pillage (the Turkish period, obviously important in local history, has given rise to the nickname *Bajazid* for the teacher and once-renowned left-back, after Bayezid I, the Sultan who defeated the Hungarians). The high style of literature, in fact a parody of lines 3 and 4 of the opening stanza of Andrej Sládkovič's (1820-72) *Detvan*, a classic with strong patriotic associations, surfaces in his introduction to the village itself: *dedinka Vyslanka zvaná, mat' stará chýrnych ožranov* (a village, Vyslanka by name, mother old of fabled drunks, p.9). And, inevitably, language lessons have left their mark: the *Ich*'s attitude to language is neatly conveyed by a simple parsing exercise: *pedagog sa s nami lúči podstatným menom plus slovesom: na narečie - srat'* (the teacher bade us farewell with a verb plus a noun: sod the dialect! p.14). (At this point we do not yet know why the teacher should have such strong feelings on the subject.) Although the language of the *Ich* is fundamentally the same as that of the older informants, some of his metaphors show him to be of the twentieth century, despite the backwardness of the village. Thus the sight of the cane reminds him of *mapy detského zadku, podliate klobásy poludníkov a rovnobežiek* (maps of a child's bottom, swollen weals of longitudes and latitudes, p.13), and the priest (a character otherwise associated with sporting metaphors) is described as (*ako*) *pásák, vlastne teda pásáčik do kopca t'ahá* (like a [caterpillar] tractor, actually more a mini-tractor grinding up the hill, p.19). The switch to the diminutive (*pásáčik*) is typical of the language of the *Ich*, whose indulgent attitude to the strange ways of adults is largely conveyed through diminutive forms, a pattern set in the arresting opening paragraph, with its *pinklík* (duffle bag), *ruksaštek* (rucksack), *hاتیžáčik* (back-pack), *bagančičky* (boots), and the later *ceruztička* (pencil), *papierik* (paper), *obalček* (folder), *magneťáčik* (tape-recorder) and countless others. It is also a manifestation of the liberation of language in that it is a

resort well beyond the normal measure to a device that is already present in it; it creates in the process a string of new nonce-words. The *Ich*'s destruction of clichés in, for example, his *sedemňflové tenisky* (seven-league trainers, p.19) is similarly liberating.

For his part the scholar is characterized by his one-track-mindful dialectological researches. Most of the metalanguage, the language about language, appears in his speech, but unlike the *Ich*, who is aware of actual verbs and actual nouns, the scholar is concerned with abstractions that come to appear as unreal irrelevances: his *zvyšky cirkumflexu* (remnants of the long falling tone) or his imperfect transcriptions of the *rarirara* type. This pompous scholarly discourse and the urgency of his getting back to process his material contribute to his portrayal as a quixotic figure.

The teacher in 'Kurz jazyka' is also very simply characterized by the language he uses, from his formulaic opening *Vážení priatelia* (respected friends, p.80), to his long-winded sentences and individual lexical items such as *kádry* (personal files, *ibid.*), *evidovať* (register [misused], p.109) and *najefektívnejšie* (to greatest effect, p.80), and high incidence of imperatives. His discourse is hardly individual, but it is at least well observed, as a type, as some of the genuine individual speech patterns in 'Zánik dialektu', whether they are those of the informants specifically being studied by the scholar, or of the other characters whose speech is simply reproduced by the *Ich*. The variety of styles or registers in *Súpis dravcov* is not just in the longer discourses or consistent speech patterns that characterize, but also in the register changes brought about by individual incident. Thus the dry-as-dust scholar becomes a normal, linguistically inventive Slovak when he is enraged by attacking geese, and he produces the expletive *gunárisko gunáriskové gunáriskovité* (approximately: ganderish gandery gander, p.10); at the party towards the end of 'Kurz jazyka' we have the well observed soppy emotionality of the tongue-tied drunken bureaucrat-teacher, including the possibly telling stutter *sing-sing-signálnych sústav* (sing-sing-signalling systems, p.111): how well Sing-Sing prison is known to the Slovaks I have no idea, but the stutter which matches its name stands adjacent and in apposition to *reči* (speech), which could underline the language-prison theme. If deliberate, this is the most sophisticated pun in the book.²²

Horák's skill with language is not just in the observation and reproduction of patterns of speech, not just 'linguistically literary'. He has his own purely literary skill as well. Suffice it to recall the description of, for example, Čušpajsík's epileptic fit (pp.25-28), the scene at the funeral as everyone tries to pile into the hired bus-trailer (p.65), or any passage involving action, such as Šakový's motorbike or van proceeding across the country, the

²² The description of the staccato noise made by a projector as *PĚĚĚ* (see p.75 above) is no less sophisticated if it contains a hint of the name of a well-known pistol, the Walther PPK (potentially familiar to the Slovak reader as the weapon of choice of James Bond); this would be an entirely appropriate image in the context of the teacher-as-prison-warder.

corpse bouncing in the coffin on the back of the lorry (p.67; corpses generally have a rough time in *Súpis dravcov*), Poljovka's expropriation of Šakový's groceries (a lesson in how things fall off the back of lorries; pp.36-37), or the bodily turning-over of Poljovka and many others.

The two stories, while containing elements of both the natural and unnatural poles, are nevertheless fundamentally each representative of one. 'Zánik dialektu' is rich and creative on a purely linguistic and stylistic level; language here explores its own nature by the hand of the writer, who endows it with a wealth of alliteration and assonance, rhyme and rhythm and enlivens it by inventive diminutive-formation and the incorporation in the text of the 'given', the linguistic heritage, not just of dialect, but also of proverbs, sayings, nursery rhymes and folk songs. It is dynamic and made more so by frequent use of asyndeton, by lists of especially graphic, often onomatopoeic verbs and verbal nouns and countless other devices. 'Kurz jazyka', in its 'freer' moments, also has all of these elements, but the free play is generally absent. What is left is an adventurous attempt to smash the rigidity of linguistic formality (officialese and highly artificial and regulated foreign-language learning). The variation of form: dialogue as in a play, or film, static film clips, 'normal' narrative, gives us just short jagged splinters of the larger picture. 'Zánik dialektu' contains a warning, given that a dialect is a language too, that nothing should interfere with the freedom to create what an unfettered language offers; 'Kurz jazyka' is a depressing picture of the other extreme, a warning against regimentation, against setting a 'course' (*kurz*) for man or his language, against giving language a fixed (that is, limited) value (*kurz*).

The work's critical reception was largely positive, most writers appreciating that Horák is using language to talk about language. I would agree with Sulík that in Horák we have a rare and bold experimenter in a literature and at a time when few availed themselves of the spontaneously generative capacity of language.²³ On the other hand I cannot agree with Truhlář that underlying the scholar's dialect and folklore researches is the less symbolic, 'more solid' search for the meaning of life and its mosaic quality.²⁴ Truhlář also believes that 'Kurz jazyka' is too fragmentary, complicated, sophisticated and *recherché*. Čúzy considers the fragmentation an asset, though he confines his assessment to method and content, saying nothing about language, either as vehicle or subject. Oddly, Čúzy consistently misquotes it as 'Kurz jazykov' (languages course). Ján Jurčo also gives the work a positive reception,²⁵ concluding that the reader will gain a 'powerful, ethical, cognitive and aesthetic experience from it'. On 'Zánik dialektu' he refers to the style 'charged with sub-text' and

²³ *Kapitoly o súčasnej próze*, Bratislava, 1985, pp.111-12.

²⁴ Břetislav Truhlář, reviewing *Súpis dravcov* in *Slovenské pohľady*, 96, 1980, 10, pp.119-20.

²⁵ 'Prekvapujúci prístup k životu', *Pravda*, 61, 26 June 1980, 149, p.5.

on 'Kurz jazyka' to 'a number of semantic zones and associations', but refrains from spelling out what the subtext or associations are. Karol Tomiš²⁶ singles out 'Kurz jazyka' as the sole exception in recent Slovak prose to 'search for aspects of reality so far undiscovered by literature, for new means of expression and unconventional formal procedures'. The least positive view of the work is Peter Andruška's.²⁷ It denies that the subjects are new and unknown and says they are simply not normally discussed, or are discussed in other terms. Then, having characterized the particular novelty of Horák's method, he denies him any primacy, though he does not say whom Horák is allegedly following. What is worse, he criticizes Horák for burying man and reality beneath a welter of words, making his demonstration of what language can do an end in itself, unworthy of an above-average writer. One Czech reaction to the work, which appeared a year behind the early Slovak reviews,²⁸ is unreservedly positive; it notes the formal elements of drama and originality of style and is unique in mentioning the linguist's death. Otherwise it is restricted to retelling the 'plots' while appreciating that the language and style are unequivocally paramount, but as form and material, not subject.

All the critics pick up the fact that *Súpis dravcov* was written before *Cukor*, though published after. This suggests that it was perhaps a trial run for some of the modes of experimentation in which Horák indulges. Its shortness would then account for the widely perceived density, or intensity, of the role of language which becomes somewhat reduced in *Cukor*. Thematically *Cukor* is also less controversial, and its success 'eased the passage' for *Súpis dravcov*.

All the critics have also agreed that *Súpis dravcov* is a work of great humour, which is undoubtedly the case, but applying more to 'Zánik dialektu' than 'Kurz jazyka'. Some writers have classed it as grotesque, which is only partly true;²⁹ while there are undoubtedly grotesque elements in it, there is far more humour of other kinds — parody, slapstick, satire, not to mention the purely linguistic humour underlying some of the points discussed earlier. Throughout the book Horák is a literary and linguistic magician, and nothing better sums up the work than Rosten's prescient observation that 'there is magic in dialect which can liberate

²⁶ 'Na ceste umeleckého dozrávania', *Slovenské pohľady*, 100, 1984, 4, pp.10-30, especially pp.29-30.

²⁷ 'Próza ako experiment', *Nové slovo*, 2, 1980, 29, p.20.

²⁸ Zuzana Bělinová: 'Přínos slovenské próze', *Literární měsíčník*, 10, 1981, 5, pp.117-18.

²⁹ For a detailed appraisal of the grotesque see R.B.Pynsent's 'Čapek-Chod and the Grotesque', in Pynsent (ed.): *Karel Matěj Čapek-Chod: Proceedings of a Symposium*, London, 1985, pp.181-215.

us from the prisons of the familiar'.³⁰

Postscript

Súpis dravcov was written during the period of 'normalization' which followed the attempted liberalization of socialism in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Since 1990 independent Slovakia has produced a variety of legislation intended to ensure the proper use of Slovak as the official language of the state (and provisions for the use of other languages) and/or to keep it pure. The targets have been Czechisms of various kinds as a token of official anti-Czech pique following the break-up of Czechoslovakia, and creeping Anglicisms. In 1995 French official attitudes, especially those directed against English,³¹ were being cited in support of the provisions of a proposed new 'State Language Law'.³² This duly appeared on 15 November 1995 and was widely perceived by the opposition and foreign press, and by some West European diplomatic circles, as crudely nationalistic. It upset the minorities, especially the Hungarians, triggering a diplomatic row between Budapest and Bratislava in consequence.³³ The Slovaks had already suffered a language-based diplomatic controversy with Germany, over the (re-)standardized Slovak name for Germany.³⁴ The (intellectual) popular and (opposition) journalistic approach to the new legislation, even before it came into force, was to make it the inspiration for endless jokes, which suggests that the latterday *dravci* of officialdom might have benefited from a re-reading of *Súpis dravcov*. At all events, the time is certainly ripe for it to be re-published.

³⁰ Rosten: *The Return of Hyman Kaplan*, p.15.

³¹ This culminated in a fine levied in France on Body Shop (early 1996) for failure to include French-language product-labelling on goods marketed in France; such strict application of a language law in another country can only have fuelled the fervour of Slovak linguistic nationalists. It was already usual to find products which are on sale in both the Czech Republic and Slovakia having the text in both languages side by side; it does not require a genius to see that (unlike between French and English) the differences are usually minimal.

³² The new law had had its precursors in, for example Statute 428/1990 of 25 October 1990, on the Official Language in the Slovak Republic (which clarifies Article 6 of the Slovak Constitution) or Statute 191/1994 of 29 July 1994 on the use of vernacular names of towns and villages in areas inhabited by minorities.

³³ See Adam Lebor: 'Slovak law builds the language barrier high', *The European*, 14-20 December 1995.

³⁴ See Vincent Boland: 'Slovaks find there's much in a name', *Financial Times*, 22-23 July 1995.

THE TREATMENT OF THE CZECH 'VERBS OF MOTION' IN JUNGSMANN'S CZECH-GERMAN DICTIONARY.¹

The intention of this chapter is to add to the history of interpretations of, above all, the non-prefixed verbs of motion in Czech. It is not my intention to extend the debate on aspect in the context of verbs of motion by offering a new theory.² My discussion will remain within a slightly unorthodox and perhaps over-simplifying account which has, however, served well in oral descriptions (especially in the classroom) of this distinctive family of Czech verbs. In a nutshell, it is possible in practice to present the forms *jde* 'he goes/is going', *šel* 'he went/was going', *půjde* 'he will go' and *jít* 'to go' and their counterparts in the rest of the series of primary determinate verbs of motion in Czech as biaspectual. The lack of uniformity in the aspectual labelling of the verbs of motion has a long tradition, but the part of that tradition which is of interest here is that which allows for the possibility of interpreting *jít* etc. as 'also perfective'. The initial evidence is here restricted to a number of less well-known works, chiefly from the English-speaking world.³

Thus, for example, W.R. Morfill, the first English student of the Czech language, gives the form *půjdu* as an example of the 'present tense of perfective verbs'.⁴ If we ignore the obvious confusion of formal and semantic aspects, we may infer — and it follows also from remarks elsewhere in the book — that Morfill interprets any prefix as perfectivizing.

¹ This chapter is derived from a paper given at the Jungmann Symposium held in Cracow in November 1987; it is a slightly amended version of an article published in *Rocznik slawistyczny*, 48, 1992, 1, pp.31-40.

² There is no shortage of inspiring new theories. Certainly worthy of note is G.N.Cummins's 'On the Aspect of Motion Verbs in Czech and Russian', *Folia Slavica*, 6, 1983, 1-2, pp.7-52. No account is taken of this article here, since the present aspiration is much more modest, being originally inspired by the needs of teaching, and later by the considerable discrepancies among the various textbooks of Czech to be discussed below.

³ The description given below was originally worked up by a postgraduate student at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in the University of London, John McGinley, within a broader essay on descriptions of Czech verbal aspect in numerous textbooks aimed at the English-speaking learner. What follows is a selection of his findings.

⁴ *A Grammar of the Bohemian or Čech Language*, Oxford, 1899, p.47.

In any event, his account of aspect is at best hazy and at worst erroneous.

An inaccuracy of another kind is committed by Bohumil Mikula,⁵ a North-American native speaker of Czech with locally imperfect notions about his mother tongue. Among the verbs of motion he gives the forms *půjdu/šel* as future/past and imperfective (p.274), but in essence sees as their perfective counterparts the forms *odejdu/odešel* and *dojdu/došel*, distinguished by the feature 'direction'. That this is so has to be inferred, on the one hand, from his tables on pp.273 and 274, and, on the other, from the terminological overlap (the use of the expression 'parallel conjugations') with the way in which the relationship between *brát* and *vzít* is established (p.225). Not until p.479 does Mikula give *odcházet* as the imperfective counterpart to *odejít*, which leaves the relationship between *půjdu* and *budu odcházet* and *šel* and *odcházel* unaccounted for. What is interesting about this book is that the verbs of motion are used — quite properly — as examples of the difference between durative, iterative⁶ and frequentative,⁷ but the unique qualities of the group are not picked up, or if they are, then only tacitly in that for other verbs (he uses *mluvit*) only two, not three, forms are to be found: *mluvím* - *mluvívám*. *Mluvívám* is aligned as a frequentative with *běhávám*.

Among the early English-language textbooks of Czech Miloš Sova's⁸ has the best account of verbal aspect. On the verbs of motion, however, he gives no unequivocal aspect label for their future-tense forms. Since he describes both the conjugated forms of any verbs with the prefix *po-* (*poprosit*, *posnídat*, *poznat*, *pozdravit* and others, p.157, with a cross-reference to p.148) and the forms *půjdu*, *poletím*, *ponesu* etc. as 'present future' (p.158), it might be inferred that he would also put them in a common category under aspect. A similar ambiguity attaches to Sova's later work,⁹ if we take into account his terminology ('prepositional prefixes' which perfectivize, among which he includes *po-*, pp.150-51) and the absence of any aspectual label for the future-tense forms of the verbs of motion (p.172); all he uses is labels according to *Aktionsart* (durative, iterative).

⁵ *Progressive Czech*, Chicago, 1936.

⁶ Because of their use in a variety of the works mentioned, including Jungmann's Czech German dictionary (1834-39), the terms 'durative' and 'iterative' will be used throughout this essay instead of the alternative labels 'determinate' and 'indeterminate'.

⁷ He gives only six instances, p.452.

⁸ *A Modern Czech Grammar*, London, 1944.

⁹ *Practical Czech Course for English-Speaking Students*, Prague and London, 1962.

Čeština jazyk cizí, by Ivan Poldauf and Karel Šprunk,¹⁰ is the first book in which the aspectual description of the durative (determinate) verbs of motion interprets them fairly explicitly as bi-aspectual. However, on the one hand, it is said that the verbs *jít*, *jet*, *běžet*, *letět* etc. have no corresponding perfective, 'thus there is only *běžet*, ..., *jet*, *jít*, *letět*' (here it is apparently just the formal aspect that is being considered), but this is immediately followed by the assertion that 'in the past tense they are *perfective* and *imperfective* according to need' (p.224).¹¹ By means of examples the authors demonstrate how the validity of their claim, but the possibility of constructing analogous examples for the present tense and infinitive is passed over in silence. In §8.49 (pp.180-82), where the future is dealt with, the question effectively remains open.

Michael Heim's *Contemporary Czech* contains the assertion that 'verbs of motion have distinctive perfective forms in the future only. They are formed by prefixing *po-* to the present tense of the determinate verb'.¹² Heim makes no allowance for any possible contexts interpretable as imperfective future, nor does he give any acknowledgement to the standard Czech interpretation of these verbs as only ever imperfective.

Finally, while Elisabeth Billington in *Czech in Three Months*¹³ delineates the durative/iterative (determinate/indeterminate) opposition essentially adequately (as the examples on pp.142-43 reveal), she does so in terms of perfective/imperfective aspect. It necessarily follows that durative *jdu* etc. are invariably 'perfective present' (the author says: 'both aspects are used to express the present tense', p.142), which is rather at variance with the very concept of durativity, and an anomaly which remains unexplained within the author's view of aspect.

This excursion has been merely to illustrate how in earlier practice, and even quite recently, aspect in the verbs of motion has proved to be an area in which grammarians, especially practitioners of the applied grammar of Czech (Czech as a foreign language), have consistently lacked a clear-cut view of the issue.

Before I proceed to describe the evidence to be found in Jungmann's dictionary, another digression is warranted — into the realm of more recent lexicographical practice.

¹⁰ Prague, 1968. This book was not intended solely for English-speaking learners.

¹¹ While he was still alive, Professor Poldauf told me, in a conversation in Prague, that any such interpretation was quite impossible. His view then was that *jít* etc. can only ever be imperfective.

¹² Pilot edition: Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976, p.111; definitive edition: Columbus, Ohio, 1982 (and reprints), p.104

¹³ Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1995.

In both *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*¹⁴ and *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost*¹⁵, the two most recent general-purpose dictionaries for the native speaker and so the nearest thing to a twentieth-century equivalent to Jungmann's dictionary, adhere consistently to the practice of giving aspectual doublets in the definition of entry words that are recognized as unequivocally, genuinely and demonstrably biaspectual, for example *věnovat*: (SSČ) 'dát, dávat, připsat, připisovat, poskytnout, poskytovat'; *abdikovat*: (SSČ) 'zříci se, zříkat se [vlády aj.], odstoupit, odstupovat' (a similar treatment applies to vast numbers of loans and neologisms in the *-ovat* class); *obětovat*: (SSJČ) 'přinášet, přinést; slibovat, slíbit, že bude knězem; dávat, dát; vdávat, vydat, vynakládat, vynaložit; připouštět, připustit, aby někdo, něco podlehl zkáze pro něco, vydávat, vydat na pospas; připisovat, připsat'; and many others. This doubtless good habit is less than economical and it is hard to see why the aspectual gloss which usually accompanies entries (that is 'dok. i ned.' or 'ned. i dok.') might not have sufficed. Given that the order in which the aspects are given in the glosses is variable (and the defining verbs follow the same order), probably as a reflection of the statistical dominance of occurrences in one aspect over the other for a particular verb, it might then have sufficed if the defining verbs were given either in just the form corresponding to the statistically dominant aspect, or just in the imperfective as the unmarked member of an aspectual pair. However, the existing practice does have the merit of absolute accuracy; no such strategy or method occurred to Jungmann, apart from a few, probably accidental exceptions.

Let us now turn, finally, to how Jungmann actually processes the verbs of motion.

Looking first at the structure of a typical entry in Jungmann's dictionary, we immediately register a number of features which, from the modern perspective, are at the very least unusual; either as a reflection of the period, or because Jungmann was aspiring to a comprehensiveness which would today, within one and the same work, be unthinkable or unviable: he attempts to embrace the whole of Czech both synchronically and diachronically. That comment is not meant as an anachronistic rebuke to Jungmann, who, in his day, was, not only with the dictionary, but through all his linguistic and philological works, a pinnacle that has rarely had an equal in times since. The assumptions, ideas and needs of the National Revival could not fail to affect this maximalistic attempt to capture the relevant linguistic data. Hence Jungmann's great oeuvre is not primarily a bilingual, translating dictionary, as its title suggests, but above all an explanatory dictionary, with definitions and examples, and in addition an etymological dictionary with some features even of a comparative work.

The first note to be made is a fairly trivial matter: in its external detail the dictionary

¹⁴ Prague, 1971 (4 vols), re-issued in 8 vols. 1989. Hereafter SSJČ.

¹⁵ Prague, 1978 and later reprints; second revised edition 1994. Hereafter SSČ.

is understandably marked by period orthography, which leads to the (for the modern user) unc customary ordering in which entries appear. For example, *jít* appears under the letter G.

Secondly, in line with the principles laid out in Jungmann's own 'Foreword' certain verbal entries are ordered in the dictionary by their infinitives (at the time always 'long', i.e. ending in *-ti*), while others according to the first-person singular form. In essence this is associated with the congruency between the forms of the infinitive and present-tense stem — often absent in the case of verbs in *-ím* (i-conjugation verbs). It is too late to discuss with Jungmann the appropriateness of the approach selected, hallowed for him by Dobrovský, but within the verbs of motion (and not only there) there is at least one instance where the method serves the user ill. (In a translating dictionary, which Jungmann's in part is, this is surely a failing, since, at least theoretically, potential users could include speakers of the target language, German.) That instance is the case of the lexeme *hnát* 'chase', in Jungmann *hnáti/ženu*. Jungmann's approach means that it is listed under *ženu*, far removed from the place where *hnáti* might be sought — it is even in a different volume. Also less than convenient, though not so extreme spatially, is the relative location of the entries for *jdu* (*gdu*) 'I am going' and its infinitive *jít* (*giti*).

Thirdly, Jungmann uses a convention whereby between each entry word and the first German translation and examples of subsidiary meanings there is a complete inventory of verbs sharing a common stem, prefixed verbs after a prefixed entry word, non-prefixed after a non-prefixed entry. Thus, for example, among the verbs of motion (the same principle applies consistently elsewhere), *běžeti* 'to be running' is followed not only by its own various finite and non-finite forms, but also the historical *běžati* and the iterative *běhám* 'I run' and frequentative *běhávám*; *létám* 'I fly' is followed by a mixture of stylistic and *Aksionsart* variants: *létávám*, *letěti*, *letívám*, *létnu*, *lítnu*. The situation with prefixed verbs is somewhat more complex, thus *provedu* 'I will lead through; I will carry out' is followed by the formally and semantically mixed *provoditi*, *prováděti*, *provázeti*, *provázívám*, *provozuji*, with, nested later on in the entry, and somewhat exceptionally, further forms with an additional prefix: *doprovoditi*, *vyprovoditi* and *vyprovázeti*.

Two things in particular in Jungmann's treatment are instructive: first, the priority given to one or other of the members of the nowadays customarily paired verbs of motion, or the relatively equivalent status of both members that follows from the fact that both are given the same, or approximately the same, weight by having the benefit of separate entries; and secondly, what is of direct relevance to this chapter, the aspectual labelling given to each item, or the consistency with which such labelling is maintained, or hinted at in the exemplification.

On the first point, let us take the basic repertoire of dibasic¹⁶ verbs of motion as they are customarily presented in modern treatments with an overview of their standing in Jungmann's dictionary - see Table 1. Items accorded a separate entry by Jungmann are in **bold**; the forms are modernized orthographically, with the entry head-word which actually occurs in Jungmann placed in brackets.

Table 1

The modern inventory		Jungmann's handling	
1. <i>jít</i>	<i>chodit</i>	jíti (gdu)	choditi
2. <i>jet</i>	<i>jezdit</i>	jeti (gedu)	jezditi (gezdit)
3. <i>vést</i>	<i>vodit</i>	věsti (wedu)	voditi (woditi)
4. <i>nést</i>	<i>nosit</i>	nésti (nesu)	nositi
5. <i>vézt</i>	<i>vozt</i>	vězti (wezu)	voziti (woziti)
6. <i>letět</i>	<i>létat</i>	letěti	létati (létám)
7. <i>běžet</i>	<i>běhat</i>	běžeti	běhati (běhám)
8. <i>hnát</i>	<i>honit</i>	hnáti (ženu)	honiti
9. <i>táhnout</i>	<i>tahat</i>	táhnouti (táhnu)	tahati (tahám)

It applies in principle that any member not accorded a separate entry is properly worked out in the entry of its opposite member. What is noteworthy is that the material is handled in three different ways: a. both members are processed separately (1, 2, 4, 8); b. the iterative is 'subordinated' to the durative (3, 5, 7, 9); c. the durative is 'subordinated' to the iterative (6.). It is not the intention here to go beyond describing the state of affairs as it stands: it does, however, seem plain, that Jungmann did not have a clear idea of peculiarities of these verbs as a group.¹⁷ There are also certain other inconsistencies in Jungmann's treatment: for example, in the separately treated *jet* and *jezdit* there is an explicit cross-reference from *jedu* to *jezditi*, but not vice versa; any relation between them can only be deduced implicitly. The position is similar with *jdu* and *choditi*, but with the additional inconsistency that against *choditi* in the heading of the *jdu* entry we find the gloss 'contin.', while in the *choditi* entry proper it is glossed 'durat.'. Given the part-meanings of *chodit*, this has some justification, since *chodit* may act as a durative *sui generis*, as well as an iterative, but the same goes for, say, *jezdit*, and certainly did in Jungmann's day; yet he does not record the fact.

At this point it is worth considering what additional information can be gleaned from the mixed group of verbs which either elsewhere in Slavonic, or at some other time or in

¹⁶ For the use of this term see the essay on patterns of aspectual derivation in Czech in this volume, pp.129ff.

¹⁷ The view of them is no less ambiguous in Josef Dobrovský's *Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache*, Prague, 1809, 1819.

some way also in Czech, have a close formal or semantic relationship to the basic Czech inventory of verbs of motion. Apart from the dialectal or colloquial usage of the first pair, the relationship between the pairings in Table 2 differs from that between the members of the core set.

Table 2

Today		In Jungmann	
10. <i>lézt</i>	<i>lozit</i>	lézti (lezu)	lézati (lézám)
11. <i>vléci</i>	<i>vláčeti</i>	vléci (wleku)	wláčiti , wláčeti
12. <i>plout</i>	<i>plavati</i>	plouti (plugi)	pláwati (pláwám)
13. <i>bříst</i>	<i>brodit</i>	břísti (bředu)	broditi

The way Jungmann works with these entries is similar to that employed in the main group. One point worth noting in particular is that the form *loziti* is completely unknown to him; that *lézati* as 'iter.' is described as rare and occurs, as he says, chiefly with composita (prefixed forms); and that *plauti* is essentially no more than one variant among numerous alternatives (free variants?), including, for example, *plynauti*. Thus here, as in the core group of verbs of motion, Jungmann's approach is purely historical and etymological. For completeness let it be added that one verb which seems to have been attached to the core group only in relatively recent times, viz. the pair *valit-válet*,¹⁸ is similarly processed in Jungmann; *wáleti* is given as the iterative to *waliti*.

On the second main point made earlier, namely on the aspectual labelling given by Jungmann to the verbs of motion, another table (Table 3 overleaf) may suffice as a starting point. The labels are given either immediately after the entry word, or after any nested form within an entry, so that even where a separate entry is lacking, an aspectual characteristic can be found. The table overleaf reproduces all the relevant aspectual and *Aktionsart* annotations given by Jungmann. The verbs are here cited only in their modern form and the glosses in translation.

The aspectual glosses contain no surprises, since they accord with the commonest characterization given in modern sources. What is more surprising is the lack of uniformity in the remaining glosses, including the 'durat.' of *chodit* referred to previously, and certain lesser terminological deviations, such as the occasions when Jungmann occasionally uses 'slož.' for 'comp.', as in the case of *letět* (here reproduced as 'comp.'). I shall return later to the gloss 'in comp. pfv.'.

¹⁸ In the new *Mluvnice češtiny*, 2, Tvarosloví, Prague, 1986, p.186. Yet the position of this pair is not fully analogous to the core set of verbs of motion: *SSJČ* lists both, but also gives *valit* under the *válet* entry as its synonym, which cannot apply in any of the other verbs.

Table 3

<i>jít</i>	impfv., in comp. pfv.	<i>chodit</i>	impfv., durat., comp. pfv. ¹⁹
<i>jet</i>	impfv., in comp. pfv.	<i>jezdit</i>	impfv., iter., comp. pfv.
<i>vést</i>	impfv.	<i>vodit</i>	impfv., iter.
<i>vézt</i>	impfv.	<i>vozt</i>	impfv., iter.
<i>nést</i>	impfv., comp. pfv.	<i>nosit</i>	impfv.
<i>letět</i>	impfv., comp. pfv.	<i>létat</i>	iter.
<i>běžet</i>	impfv.	<i>běhat</i>	iter., impfv.
<i>hnát</i>	impfv.	<i>honit</i>	iter., impfv. comp. pfv.
<i>táhnout</i>	impfv.	<i>tahat</i>	iter., impfv.
<i>valit</i>	impfv.	<i>válet</i>	iter., impfv.

If we now accept Jungmann's evaluation of the duratives (determinates) as imperfective, recalling at the same time that they have sometimes been described (by others, v.s.) as 'also perfective', we can now survey the relevant entries for what they may tell us. The most compendious entry among the verbs that are of interest here is *gdu* (i.e. *jít*). This is entirely understandable, as it is understandable that Jungmann should offer a wide range of defining synonyms. Not every example, or quotation, is accompanied by a synonymous defining verb, or even a German translation, but within the whole entry there are no less than seventy-six various 'synonyms' for the part-meanings of *jít*. Of these, twelve are perfective, namely:

Table 4

s nechutí do něčeho/k něčemu *jíti podstoupit*
 k sobě *jíti k rozumu zase přijíti*
 do něčeho *jíti se uvoliti*
jíti k otcům umříti
jíti = s úvahou oddáliti se, odejíti
 pakliby nechtěl dobrovolně v to *jíti k tomu svoliti, se uvoliti*
jíti po čem dychtiti, oddati se čemu
 [II, 2] *do jistého stavu se dostati, proměnu užiti*
jíti s odporem nezdařiti se
jíti v co náležeti k čemu, vhoditi v co
*jíti za muže vdáti se*²⁰

¹⁹ The abbreviations used in Jungmann are: *nedok.* = imperfective (here: impfv.); *dok.* = perfective (pfv.); *comp.* (and occasionally *slož.*) = composita (comp., i.e. prefixed forms); *durat.* (= durative); *iter.* (= iterative).

²⁰ This is, however, illustrated as imperfective in a sentence with the synonym *pojímá*.

Against this set of examples it might be objected that they are mostly infinitival; examples for the past tense, if they were similarly glossed, might be even more instructive. Not without interest is the pair *dychtiti, oddati se*, which hints at both a stative (imperfective) and an inchoative (perfective) function of *jít*.

If we next summarize the situation in the other verbs, we find relatively few examples relevant to the present account, i.e. the vast majority speak in favour of imperfectivity, but a few are to be found nonetheless:

Table 5

na koráb jeti *na mizinu jíti, přijíti*
běžeti o pomoc *k někomu utéci*
hnáti syn. *tlačiti, tisknouti, přidržeti, přivést, nutkati...*
hnáti koho před soud *pohnati*
hnáti za peníze *zvésti, zpeněžovati*
vésti *dáti směr*
vésti na pravou cestu... *dáti směr ukázáním*
vedl = *navedl (přemluvením)*
vésti = *příčinou býti nějakého skutku, připravit, puditi, hnáti, činiti, přičiniti, aby co bylo*
táhnouti koho k sobě *pohnati, povolati*
táhnouti *zdloužiti, napínati, prostříti*
táhnouti *tiše odejíti*
táhne po svých *vykrade se, ujde po tichu*
po svých táhnul (*se sklopenou hlavou*) *odešel*
tahla *odejdiž*
táhnouti se z něčeho *vyvoditi se, vyplývati*
valiti *poraziti, svaliti, povaliti, rozvaliti, poraziti, vyvrátiti*
valiti vinu na koho *strčiti, strkati*

This corpus, then, contains attestations in which the body of defining verbs contains both perfective and imperfective items, including — which is of greatest significance to the discussion — two instances where to a single meaning both members of a the same aspectual pair are given, namely *činiti, přičiniti* under 'vésti' and *strkati, strčiti* under 'valiti'. This undoubtedly happened more or less by chance, not as a matter of principle, as in the case of *SSČ* and *SSJČ* (v.s.), but it is equally clear evidence that there is no major problem attached to the acceptance of the verbs of motion in Czech, then as now, as (at least potentially) biaspectual. It seems entirely tenable to view them in this light not merely in their infinitive forms, but also in the past and future tenses, in a manner already indicated, albeit to a limited extent, by Poldauf and Šprunk (v.s. and note 10).

When we come to look for the evidence in Jungmann as regards the future tense, it must be emphasized first that individual future-tense forms are apparently not felt as part of the various verbal lexemes; they are not found at the head (among the various glosses) of the basic entry forms, whether infinitival or first-person singular. Secondly, each verb of motion in the *po*-prefixed future is accorded a separate entry as if were a common-or-garden derivate. Jungmann was led to this by his historicizing approach, under which he uses as entry words any verb (or its infinitive) that existed, or had at some time existed, in Czech, irrespective of any narrowing of meaning or any particular complexity in the relationship between finite and non-finite forms in modern Czech (including, one assumes the Czech of his own period). This means that he links, for purely formal reasons, the forms *pojdu* (the entry word under which all the following are subsumed), *pojítí*, *pošel*, *pojd'*, *pod'*, *pojdiž*, *pojítí*, *pochoditi*. Only immediately before the exposition does he give *půjdu* as an alternant to the defunct *pojdu*. The future tenses of the other verbs are processed analogously, *mutatis mutandis*.

They are all, of course, *composita*, at least from Jungmann's point of view, and as such are evaluated as aspectually perfective, whether the entry form is an infinitive or the respective first-person singular. Any relation to non-prefixed forms is established only more or less incidentally, as an exception, and that in the cases of *pojdu/půjdu* and *pojedu*, the forms *jdu* and *jedu* being given as the corresponding imperfective forms. In other words, Jungmann was so hidebound by the formal side of things that he failed to appreciate the actual relationship between *jít*, *jdu*, *půjdu* and *šel* etc., or the matching foursomes from other verbs, and created instead two series: *jít*, *jdu* and *šel* etc. on the one hand and *pojítí*, *pojdu/půjdu*, *pošel* etc. on the other. Apart from the exceptional (aspectual) association between *půjdu/pojedu* and *jdu/jedu* the dictionary offers very few flashes to suggest that matters are slightly other than Jungmann's treatment would suggest. There is, however, the note under *vezu*, indicating, among the derived forms, that *povezu* is actually the 'futurum simplex', and an unexplained note at the very end of the *jedu* entry: 'cf. *pojedu*'. While they would have been quite appropriate, not to say systematically desirable, no other such cross-references are to be found.

To the extent that Jungmann thinks that prefixed forms are necessarily perfective, one ought to examine his accounts of them in a manner analogous to that conducted for the unprefixed forms above. In this case, and for perhaps obvious reasons, there are many fewer samples of contradictory usage, but note the following:

Table 6

poběhne oč *jednati se bude* oč

půjdu = *jíti*, *kráčet*

pojiti dobře, zle *vésti se*. *To mu dobře půjde* [surely undoubtedly imperfective]

[*pojítí*] = *jednati se nepůjde* tu o málo

(continued overleaf)

pojedu... na koni voze *se pryč bráti*
 poletěti = *letěti*
 ponesu *trpěti, snášeti*
 povedu = *věsti*
 pověsti se s kým *jíti spolu veda se*
 povezu = *vézt*

These items are then at variance with Jungmann's description of the future forms as perfective, though not with their current general evaluation as imperfective.

More instructive for the alternative account, by which the future forms could be evaluated as perfective (as *also* perfective), are Jungmann's examples which confirm the view that he adopts that they are in any case perfective. These include (omitting the transparently archaic material):

Table 7

poběhnouti *odpadnouti od koho* [implies: *poběhne = odpadne...*]
 dolů poletí *spadne*
 povaliti *poraziti, svaliti* [implies: *povalím = porazím*]
 povaliti *valiti* signif. perf. [!]
 povaliti se *padnouti* [implies: *povalím se = padnu*]
 pověsti se *podařiti se, poštěstiti se* [N.B. the aspectual peculiarity of this use today
 — modal perfective]

There is, then, relatively little evidence; most of the rest is embedded in archaic past tense forms with *po-*, and in any event Jungmann gives very few synonyms of either aspect in the expository part of the entries. However, if one were to 'translate' all the non-archaic examples by means of 'synonyms', some would certainly come out as perfective, just as Jungmann imagined.

We have seen how Jungmann's treatment of the verbs of motion in Czech is distorted in part by his consistent reliance on the absence or presence of prefixes as in some sense determining, and in part by a degree of inconsistency in his choice of candidates for separate entries and of subordinated, nested aspectual or *Aktionsart* counterparts to this or that form. Here we have discussed prefixed forms only to the extent that they enter into the area of aspectual debatability, i.e. determinates with *po-*. In the case of other prefixes, we would probably discover a state of affairs rather like today's — the compound (prefixed) verbs of motion are aspectually non-controversial.

As a final comment it is worth noting that, as in Table 3, in marking prefixed iteratives (indeterminates) as perfective Jungmann was consistent: not only in his *pochoditi*

and *pojezditi*, but also in verbs where he does not note aspect explicitly, whether in the case of others with *po-*, or any iteratives with the other available prefixes, such as *ponositi* or *vchoditi*, irrespective of whether such forms are alive, or merely conceivable, in late twentieth-century Czech or not.

The *po*-prefixed iteratives are, however, of more significance to the present account than the others for the simple reason that Jungmann links them to the similarly marked duratives. But just as, according to Table 1, Jungmann was inconsistent in his treatment of the basic determinate-indeterminate pairs, there are inconsistencies here too. As in Table 1, the bold items in Table 8 are those listed separately in the dictionary; the remainder are handled merely within the entry for their opposite number. The added glosses for aspect and *Aktionsart* are translations of Jungmann's.

Table 8

poběhnu et poběžeti pfv.	poběhám pfv.
pojdu pfv. (pochoditi cont.)	pochoditi iter., pfv.
pojedu pfv.	pojezditi pfv.
poženu pfv.	pohoniti semi-iter., pfv.
poletěti pfv.	
polezu pfv.	polézám impfv.
ponesu pfv.	ponositi iter., pfv.
povaliti pfv.	pováleti iter., pfv.
povedu pfv.	povoditi durat., pfv.
povezu pfv.	povoziti iter., pfv.
potáhnu semelf[active]	potáhám [sic] iter., pfv.

There is here, again, variety in the direction of nesting, differences in the *Aktionsart* glosses, and a further example of Jungmann's fixation over form — for him the suffix *-nouti* is associated with semelfactivity so strongly that he did not hesitate to give this as the sole characteristic of *potáhnu*. However, that is not contradictory with the otherwise consistent marking of the left-hand column — *po*-prefixed futures — as perfective. It need hardly be pointed out that the final inconsistency of the table is Jungmann's inclusion of '*polézám* impfv.', though the problem really lies elsewhere. The slot should (?) be filled by *poloziti*, for which he may be presumed to have found no attestations, or left blank, as in the case of the (unaccountably) missing *polétám*. Then *polézám* and *polétám* could be jointly entered into a third column, not here worked out, but headed by '*pobíhám* impfv.'. Jungmann has, however, partially succeeded in revealing the gappy paradigm in these forms which still applies today.

In conclusion it may be said that Jungmann had not fully appreciated the peculiarities of the Czech verbs of motion as a group; his method — obviously — was not based on the

kind of tables set up here. However, his unconscious inconsistencies of method and its outcome has the 'advantage' that he was led along different routes to individual evaluations of the determinates as perfective, which has its place in the history of how this important group of verbs has been treated.

**FRANTIŠEK ŠEBEK'S ČESKÁ FRASEOLOGIE:
A STUDY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CZECH PHILOLOGY¹**

Each scholarly discipline is the outcome of a history of varying antiquity. The recent upsurge, within Czech lexicography, of interest in idiomatic phrasal units of various kinds, which culminated in the fairly comprehensive multi-volume dictionary, *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky*,² inspired the following look-back at a work, František Šebek's (1831-73) *Česká fraseologie*, whose very title suggests that it is one of the former's direct ancestors. This essay seeks to describe and evaluate it, as a specimen of the genre generally, and as a product of the late wave of the Czech National Revival.

What the Central Europeans call 'phraseology' is the study of idiomatic phrasal units, and it is this sense that it is used herein. (It is precisely *not* used in the sense of a speaker or writer's particular *ad hoc* choice of words.) It is not an entirely new discipline, but has recently acquired respectability among the other disciplines within linguistics, and now has a more solid theoretical background than earlier works in the field. Within the modern Czech period, which includes the National Revival, 'phraseology' has evolved like any other branch of linguistics. Its key works now merit more detailed study, especially the first so-called phraseological dictionaries of the nineteenth century. The various *brusy* 'whetstones'³ also played a not insignificant role, likewise general dictionaries, such as Jungmann's (1773-1847)

¹ This is an English version of a paper given at a seminar in Cracow in November 1987, and later published in Czech in Mieczysław Basaj and Danuta Rytel (eds): *Z problemów frazeologii polskiej i słowiańskiej VI*, Warsaw, 1994, pp.187-95.

² Vol.1: *Přirovnání* [similes], Prague, 1983; Vol.2: *Výrazy neslovesné* [non-verbal expressions], Prague, 1988; Vols 3-4: *Výrazy slovesné* [verbal expressions], Prague, 1994. The work was produced against the background of several major theoretical works: not only the Foreword and conclusory essay in Vol.1, but also the monograph *Česká lexikologie* by Josef Filipec and František Čermák (Prague, 1985) and Čermák's *Idiomatika a frazeologie češtiny* (Prague, 1982). Similar endeavours have been pursued in Slovak, Russian, Polish and Bulgarian linguistics, and there has been some attention to 'comparative phraseology', as in such works as Mieczysław Basaj and Danuta Rytel's *Słownik frazeologiczny czesko-polski* (Katowice, 1981).

³ These were puristic primers which sought to help the user 'hone' their language.

great *Česko-německý slovník* in five volumes (1834-39), where beneath many an entry lurks a wealth of grammatical as well as phrasal idioms.

The nineteenth century saw the appearance of the very first Czech work containing the expression *phraseology* in its title, namely Matěj Josef Sychra's (1776-1830) *Versuch einer böhmischen Phraseologie* of 1821-23. Sychra was curtly described by Flajšhans⁴ (1866-1950) as a 'thorough and conscientious honer'⁵ of the language. The Academy *Dějiny české literatury*⁶ maintains that Sychra had, with Jan Hýbl (1786-1834), 'relatively the highest ambitions in the shaping of popular literature', the standard of which was at the time quite uneven. Sychra was chiefly concerned with 'greater fluidity of expression in language'. Thus it would seem that he had an above-average sensitivity to language for the times, and it is not, therefore, surprising that he earns a pat on the back from later writers too, such as František Cuřín: '[his *Versuch*] is not a textbook of social phrases, as is sometimes thought, but an aid for those who, having studied at German schools, lost their understanding of Czech and its spirit, and whose breath stinks of German the minute they try to talk about less than everyday things in Czech.'⁷ Sychra was not particularly concerned with uprooting German words from Czech (the traditional core of Czech purism), but with supporting the true shape of Czech, the structure of which in some afflicted speakers had been permeated by clumsy Germanisms of all kinds. It is typical that Sychra brought to his aid not only the language of those mistakenly dismissed as common, the ordinary folk, but also the language of Daniel Adam z Veleslavína (Veleslavín, 1546-99) and other representatives of sixteenth-century 'Humanist' Czech. Given the recognition accorded to the qualities of older Czech *literature*, especially of the sixteenth century, during the National Revival and later, and given the authority enjoyed by Josef Dobrovský's (1753-1829) *Lehrgebäude der Böhmisches Sprache* (1809, 1819), in which the 'Humanist' period served as a source of models of *language* usage as well, irrespective of the archaic quality of many of the features imitated (recreated), this tendency in Sychra is entirely understandable and coincides with the period efforts to remodel or fine-tune nineteenth-century Czech. (Other contributors in the same vein include Jungmann with his dictionary, and Jan Svatopluk Presl [1791-1849] and the other authors of new terminologies, whose creative contribution to the revived language was of a rather different order; the efforts of some, such as Josef Linda [1789-1834], proved to be too

⁴ *Přesemnictví české*, Prague, 1901, p.509.

⁵ The Czech word is *brusič*, from *brousit* 'to whet, hone', as on a *brus* 'whetstone' (cf. Note 3), a lexical family based by calquing on the Latin *lima*.

⁶ Prague, 1959-61, Vol.2, pp.156, 207.

⁷ *Vývoj spisovné češtiny*, Prague, 1985, p.83. Hereafter Cuřín.

outrageous in their innovations.)⁸ The important aspect of Sychra is, however, his attention to and use of the real, living Czech of his day, from which he culled some highly colourful material.

The second Czech 'phraseological dictionary' was Jan Šach's (dates unknown) *Česká fraseologie*. It appeared forty years after Sychra's work, in 1862, at a time when the overt gravitation back to sixteenth-century language and practice should have become a thing of the past.⁹ Nevertheless, Šach still views Veleslavín and 'Humanist' Czech as 'immortal', dismissing any later departures from it as simply 'wrong'.

The next publication of the type was *Česká fraseologie* (Písek, 1864) by František Šebek, a schoolmaster from Písek.¹⁰ This is a period when the National Revival underwent a protraction which saw the appearance of a number of linguistically idiosyncratic works, of which Šebek's is one. It comes as no surprise, against this background, that his relatively large work was republished in Prague in 1869 (424pp.),¹¹ despite the fact that few (if any) writers living at the time were guided by the principles which he proclaimed, apart, that is, from the other enthusiastic amateurs and *brus*-writers who shared his enthusiasm for antiquated Czech.

⁸ Cuřín compares some of Linda's excesses to those of Václav Jan Rosa (1620-89). He also quotes the attitude that had guided much of Linda's endeavours: 'in the period 1822-24 he published articles on language in which he displayed his conviction that Czech is more consummate than, say, German, because it is unrestrictedly creative and can use one word where German needs several. Thus he claimed that the German sentence: *Das Kind hat ein wenig längere Haare bekommen* could be expressed concisely in Czech as *Dítě popovlasatělo*' (Cuřín, p.89). For a reappraisal of the work of Rosa see Jaroslav Porák, 'Rosova mluvnice a vývoj češtiny a české lingvistiky v 17. století', in *Studia Slavica Pragensia* (Prague, 1973), pp.39-53, and Věra Petráčková, 'Pojetí a význam Rosova slovníku', in Jaroslav Porák (ed.): *Starší české, slovenské a slovanské mluvnice*, *Práce z dějin slavistiky* X, Prague, 1985, pp.155-66.

⁹ It survived in fact right up to 1894 and the 3rd edition of the *Matiční brus*.

¹⁰ As a youth Šebek translated from French and English (Poe's *The Gold Bug*) for *Lumír*. He later translated, among others, the Finland-Swedish playwright Josef Julius Wecksell's (1838-1907) 'grand tragedy' *Daniel Hjort* from Swedish (Písek, 1869; original first published in Finnish in Helsinki, 1862) and the first three cantos of the *Iliad* (Jindřichův Hradec, 1872). His own verse was published in *Zlatá kniha dívek českých* (Písek). He came from a poor background, barely able to afford to study. He graduated in classical philology in 1855, acted as a supply teacher for three years in Hradec Králové and Písek, eventually becoming a full-time teacher in Písek (to 1871) and Jindřichův Hradec (until his death).

¹¹ Page references herein are to this second edition.

Šebek's main concerns are outlined in the Foreword, which begins with the words: 'It is an open secret that our language, through constant contact with German, has suffered immense internal damage, having been deflected far away from the purity and perfection which it had in Veleslavín's time.' In other words, Veleslavín is still an unequivocal ideal and German is the sole named culprit for the 'degeneration' of Czech. This contains a denial that the language might have continued to evolve 'internally' since the days of Veleslavín even without the proximity to German, and the denial that one of the most natural and uninhabitable influences on the development of any language is contact with another language or languages. Only in 1873 did Josef Durdík (1837-1902) recognize, in *Kallilogie čili o výslovnosti*,¹² that 'language is a system of signs, that in that system there is constant tension, which is why language is constantly changing, improving and becoming richer',¹³ and a year later František Otakar Mikeš (1836-?) conceded that 'a living language must take in elements from foreign languages as well, new ideas demanding new words and constructions'.¹⁴

Šebek continues by saying that 'if we wish to write good Czech, the mere, or even most thorough, knowledge of grammatical forms is not enough; it is unavoidably necessary to study the older writers and the speech of the people'. Thus, like his predecessors, he will take account both of early sources (and 'older' and 'early' here mean 'old' and are unspoken synonyms of 'good') and living folk usage; we may infer that he is referring to lexical usage, since the right 'grammatical forms' would be more readily retrievable from such authoritative sources as Dobrovský's *Lehrgebäude*. There is almost pathos in Šebek's lament that few people would have the time or the books available to take upon themselves the task of compiling 'a handbook which would be compact, yet contain all the possible modes of expression and turns of speech drawn from writings of the classical age, and in which it would always be easy, in case of doubt, to find a good Czech phrase and so avoid Germanisms and other lapses of syntax.'¹⁵ He is apparently using the word 'syntax' more

¹² Durdík was a philosopher interested in particular in aesthetics. His importance resides in part in his systematization of modern Czech philosophical terminology. For a brief biography of Durdík, including due reference to the significance of his *Kallilogie*, see *Lexikon české literatury, I, A-G* (Prague, 1985), pp.616-17.

¹³ Quoted from Cuřín, p.104.

¹⁴ In *Strážce českého jazyka*, quoted from Cuřín, p.105. In 1862-63 Mikeš edited *Osvěta* with Ferdinand Schulz, and after it folded he founded his own periodical *Beseda* (1864-66). After that he was a proof-reader at *Národní Listy* and *Národní Pokrok* and later taught French and Russian at a Pilsen commercial college. In 1870 he set up his own commercial college in Prague. His works include grammars of Czech and Russian and a book on accountancy.

¹⁵ The 'modes of expression and turns of phrase' are in the original *způsoby a obraty mluvení*, which give every appearance of being themselves period Germanisms, calqued on

broadly than we would today to include not just higher grammatical units, but combinations of words into higher lexical, 'phraseological', units.

The Foreword ends with the conviction that pupils at *gymnasia* and *Realschule*, 'who above all others should have their mother tongue cultivated and refined and be accustomed early to correct and unadulterated language', will, in *Česká fraseologie*, have at their disposal a work which will satisfy their most acute needs.

In view of the time span and evolutionary distance between the age in which the intended users of the book lived and the age of Veleslavín, it would be something of a miracle if the pupils in question were able to surmount the tension between the two versions of the language to which they were exposed. Authors writing in Czech in the 1870s and 1880s, that is, the generation that might have been exposed as pupils to the good intentions of *Česká fraseologie*, seem ultimately — and fortunately — not to have been influenced by it. In fact, the most typical feature common to Humanist Czech and the Czech of many nineteenth-century writers is the placing of the verb at the end of the clause (a feature shared, subject to a mixture of tendencies and rules, by Latin and German). Though declining, it lasted until the 1940s and later.¹⁶ Related forms, with word-orderings which would not now be viewed as neutral or normal, include Šebek's own ... *zkázu vzal* 'suffered damage' (from the first quotation above) or *kniha ... , ... v nížto by snadno bylo ...* 'a book.....in which it would be easy' and countless others.

Šebek's *Česká fraseologie* is above all a dictionary of verbs, nouns and prepositions illustrated by quotation from numerous Czech Humanist sources and/or attested in Sychra's *Versuch*, Jungmann's dictionary and a number of more recent sources. The adjectival entries are best considered alongside the verbs, since both are included chiefly as predicates having a particular valency structure or structures. There are also some isolated entries for conjunctions and interjections; a separate entry is dedicated to the conditional auxiliary *by* (p.18).

Each entry or nested expression is followed by from one to nine (the average is five) examples, which in most cases are self-explanatory. Where additional explanation is called for, six types can be identified.

The basic type of additional information is a statement on case use, indicated in the traditional, and still observed, Czech manner by the relevant case forms of the pronouns *kdo* and/or *co*, for example, *vztáhnout, vztahovati se k čemu* (p.392), *přepychati koho čím*

Redeweise and Redewendung.

¹⁶ See Cuřín, pp.91-92.

(p.238), *obsáhnouti co čím* (p.148), *přetvářeti se po kom* (p.239). Where prepositional cases are required this is occasionally stated explicitly, as in *vztahovati s předl. na* (p.392), *ukládati s předl. na* (p.347). In this context it is interesting that in the case of verbs which form syntagms or idioms with the preposition *na*, the actual case required is not stated (unlike the pattern adopted for other prepositions), so it is only the examples which reveal that forms of, say, *vztahovati na* are followed by the accusative, while *ukázati na* may require an accusative or locative. In the entry for *na* itself, as with other prepositions accorded separate entries, the variability of case is noted immediately following the entry word, but in each nested sub-section the illustrations are a hotchpotch of accusative and locative types.

The second descriptive method is to state case use by naming the case, applicable pre-eminently to prepositions, for example, *Z, předl. s gen.* (p.392), *Na, předl. s akkus. a lokálem* (p.115). There are by contrast instances, such as *přes*, where neither the case nor even the word class is stated, and others where different case requirements are introduced gradually, for example *s*, where the entry states simply *S, předl.*, followed by three nested sub-sections: *s gen.*, *s akkus.* and *s instr.*

The third device used in the account consists in semantic glosses, especially with prepositions. The need is particularly acute in the case of polysemic prepositions such as *z* or *za*. For example, the entry for *z* is structured as follows (pp.392-93):

Z, předl. s gen. 1. local meanings (four examples, of which only one could be seriously described as idiomatic, a phraseological unit: *ze sedla koho vyhoditi*); 2. temporal meanings (four examples, with again only one idiom: *z rok [sic]¹⁷ do roka*); 3. after verbs (eight examples based on infinitives, four in clauses); 4. indication of the whole of which a part is highlighted (four examples); 5. the substance from which something is made (four examples); 6. about origin (six fairly heterogeneous examples); 7. causal meanings (seven examples); 8. expressions denoting purpose or motivation (two examples, both using *z kratochvíle*); 9. expressions of condition, appurtenance or direction (a jumble of five varied, partly opaque and conspicuously archaic examples).

The fourth and simplest method of glossing is use of the equals sign. It occurs usually directly after the relevant opaque example: *on na se zprávu vztáhl = osvojil sobě* (this under the sub-entry *Vztahovati s předl. na*, p.392); *pokutami na pomstu bůh přispěti ráčil = přichvátati* (under the sub-entry *Přispěti na koho, na co*, p.253); *Žitu přirázl = jest dražší* (under *Přiráziti čemu*, p.252); *jeden druhého odběhl = od druhého* (under *Odběhnouti čeho, koho*, p.151). These examples suffice to show that the simple device of the equals sign is

¹⁷ This is one of the few misprints which the book contains.

perhaps an admission (given that the items to its right are unobjectionable) that Czech had shifted so far since the sixteenth-century that some (in fact countless) expressions had become so opaque as to be unusable; at the same time it is evidence that any revival of them in the sense suggested in Šebek's Foreword is a period lunatic-fringe pipe-dream.

The same thing applies in essence to the fifth explicatory device employed, the most surprising one when we recall the strength of the antipathy against German as a deleterious agent. These glosses are pure German, often genuine translations, and often giving the impression that the Czech expressions are calques of the German (*oheň klásti*, *Feuer anlegen* [p.91]). The glosses are of two types: either they are supplementary to glosses in Czech, for example: under *A, conj.* ... — 3. *Slouží k zvětšení a vysvětlení* we find = *k tomu, nad to, und zwar* (p.1); or a German expression may appear as the sole gloss, for example: *raditi se čeho, koho, um Rath fragen* (p.272); or (under *Od předl. s gen.*): 6. = *wegen, auf Veranlassung, in Jemandes Namen. Laje mu od matky* (pp.150-51). The last example under *klásti*, illustrating *klásti co z čeho*, shows how the German glosses may be imperfect, or of limited explanatory force: *Druží slovo z slova, jiní rozum z rozumu kladou, einiger übersetzen wortlich* (p.92). Elsewhere, on the positive side, there are cases that reveal the genuine 'lexical distance' between equivalent Czech and German expressions, as in *polehčiti měchýře, Wasser abschlagen* (p.199). Such cases reveal a clear assumption that the intended user has a sound knowledge of German.

The sixth feature of interest is normative in nature and consists of isolated injunctions. Thus under *býti k čemu* (p.19) we find: *Nesprávně [sic, another obvious misprint] se píše: Není k vidění; bylo k podivení místo není ho viděti, bylo se čemu podiviti.*

Nouns are treated fairly simply, without glosses either on gender or, where it might have been relevant, valency. The entry word is followed by a string of examples, stretching sometimes to half a page. Within the whole, the user is then left not so much to deduce its meaning(s) as to form an idea of the distribution of the particular concept (collocations, semantic fields) and any relevant syntactic features. Nominal entries contain the highest percentage of phraseological units as we understand them today.

Relatively few entries offer a complete catalogue of collocations, though some go a long way. *Kniha* (p.92) is an obvious candidate for thorough treatment: *Knihu neb knihy skládati, vymýšleti, sepsati, spisovati, psáti, vydávati, na světlo vydati. ... Knihu někomu připsati, obětovati, k ochraně poručiti* (all taken from Veleslavín), *Na knihách čísti* (from Dalimil). This is, however, the sum total of the *kniha* entry. Similar lists can be found with verbal entries as well, for example, *pobožnost, ctnost, modlitbu, poselství konati* (from Jungmann, under the entry *konati co*, p.93).

The entry *příčina* (pp.240-41) is a good example of a fairly thorough elaboration of

the syntactic particulars of a word. No less than twelve heterogeneous examples illustrate its use in the accusative, three for the instrumental, one for nominative plural, one for *dle* + genitive, two for *k* + dative, two for *pro* + accusative, one for *při* + locative, two for *u* (= *v*) + locative, four for *v* + locative, and one each for *z* + genitive, *za* + instrumental and *za* + accusative. Where there are sufficient numbers of examples, singular and plural possibilities are illustrated. In contrast to this laudable attempt at (syntactic, rather than truly idiomatic or 'phraseological') thoroughness, there are obvious elements in the layout and method which would, in a more modern author, invite criticism, for example, the location of certain examples: those under *příčina* include *Za příčinou náboženství do Jerusalema přijela*, which would have been more appropriately listed under a section of a *přijeti* entry (which is missing anyway) illustrating the construction *přijeti kam za kým neb čím* (as Šebek would have introduced it). The similar case of the example *bolestí se mučiti* (p.12), which is listed under *bolest* rather than *mučiti se* (missing), perhaps tells us that, for the author, the semantics of collocations far outweighs syntactic considerations. This has led to the somewhat arbitrary choice of entry words with the consequent deficiency whereby the user may learn that '*bolest* is likely to co-occur with *mučiti se*', but he could not ascertain 'what case or cases does *mučiti se* require, if any?'.

To return now to the author's resort to German. Given the high incidence of German glosses and Šebek's attitude to German, we are entitled to ask why he used them. He himself says nothing explicit on the subject. The charitable view is that the parallel German translations of examples contain a discreet warning that such-and-such an expression could, given the overall formal similarity between the equivalents, cause slippage in Czech. This applies particularly in the area of grammatical case, including the use of non-equivalent prepositions as extensions of the case systems, for example: *Z přízně soudili, sie haben nach Gunst gerichtet* (p.257, under *přízeň* [my emphasis]); *pro paměť budoucí, zum künftigen Andenken* (p.257, under *pro*).

There are other types of formal differences between otherwise like expressions, for example, verbal prefixation: *jej od jeho žaloby pryč svedou, bringen ihn von der Klage ab*, or contrasting spatial adverbs: *vysoko svedl svou pýchu, trieb zu weit seinem Stolz* (both examples under *svésti co*, p.327). On the other hand, some German glosses 'confirm' that Czech and German really do have true parallels, whether just lexical: *branná věž, Wehrturm* (under *branný*, p.14), or lexical and syntactic: *v oči ho bode, es sticht ihn in die Augen* (under *bodati*, p.11).

When Latin is used as the comparator or explicans, it is almost always a literal equivalent, indeed probably the literal source, of the Czech expression, for example: *nohama jíti v nález, pedibus ire in sententiam* (p.125). This, like many of the legal and other archaisms which Šebek has elected to include, is an example of how hopeless his mission was: by the time of compilation, the Czech phrase (from Viktorin Kornel ze Všehrd [1460-

1520]) must have become thoroughly opaque; the Latin does not help, and there is no indication of the expression which Šebek thinks it might be used to replace.

Šebek is, then, selective when it comes to the effects of other languages on Czech. The touchstone for this is the way he handles concepts which he could not have found attested in the period of Humanist Czech. *Česká fraseologie* contains few such. However, under *jít* he gives, as a modern extension of the example *Učedníci jdou za příkladem mistra*, a further possible use of *jít za*, namely *veliký svět jde za modou* (p.86). Of *jít za* as an imitation of German *nachgehen* it is difficult to say anything more definite than that it did not occur in Old Czech; and that *veliký svět* is a calque on French *grand monde* is perhaps above discussion, whether or not it was mediated by *große Welt*; equally, there can be no doubt that calquing is not the only means by which Czech could have found an expression for this particular social class. However, the author's tolerance in this case was undoubtedly aided by the fact that both examples were borrowed from Jungmann, and the authority of Jungmann is a sufficient force to temper Šebek's otherwise deep-seated purism. The authority of predecessors also accounts for the survival in *Česká fraseologie* of a number of pure Germanisms, merely adapted to Czech morphological and orthographic patterns; hallowed by the source, they need not be rejected or even justified. This is the case of, for example, the utterance: *ale myslí, že všecko na nebi i na zemi nějakou náhodou a trefuňkem stojí a jde*, quoted from the Kralice Bible (under *běh*, p.6), or *Nebezpečte se tím, že jste s okolními národy zpříznění a spuntování* (under *bezpečiti se neb koho čím*, p.7).

Šebek's book may be fairly described as a linguistic curio, whose content only remotely matches modern ideas of a work having *fraseologie* in the title. It is less a predecessor of the more recent Czech dictionaries of idioms and more a fairly primitive prototype of works dealing with valency or the lexical semantics of polysemic words.¹⁸ It gains some colour (and superficial partial resemblance to, say, *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky*), through the contrastive-comparative German glosses. And it is relatively poor in true idiomatic phrasal units. As follows from the examples quoted, these are not given in any infinitival form, nor, necessarily, under what might be deemed the obvious key word, but are merely authentic (no matter how archaic) examples to entry words which themselves have no particular idiomatic flavour. The reader attempting to use the book for reference purposes has to rely on a mixture of guesswork and serendipity.

The contemporary scholar need not be concerned that Šebek's aim was distinctly foolish; on the contrary, he may care to see in it a useful, if untypical, treatment of Humanist Czech material as such, with no systematic relation to the nineteenth century. The

¹⁸ It is also a close cousin of works in the English-speaking tradition that contain the word *usage* in the title, as my colleague R.B. Pynsent rightly points out. Such works indeed include many 'phraseologisms' in the Czech sense.

inconsistencies of the layout and the lack of any strict conception are to be regretted, but given the author's aims, capacities and the time of writing, we are not entitled to demand them.

However, even allowing for the inevitable failure of the work to achieve its objective, there are certain specific shortcomings which Šebek could have avoided, given the state of knowledge about Czech in his day. For example, under the entry *Býti s gen.*, which is followed by a string of appropriate examples, we also find: *béře což jest škodlivého, a nechává což jest dobrého* (p.18), where the genitive depends syntactically not on *být*, but on *což*; similarly *Pochybovali, aby co toho v pravdě bylo* (p.19). Within the otherwise necessarily long entry devoted to *býti* (pp.18-22) the author missed the opportunity to explain the important dative + infinitive construction. This is a construction of venerable antiquity (therefore he should have relished it), but still to be found in K.H. Mácha, and, perhaps for the last time, well after Šebek, in K.M. Čapek-Chod.¹⁹ Moreover, there are numerous examples of it *passim* in *Česká fraseologie*, but always within the account of some other syntagm. For example, under *býti* itself we find: *poněvadž jest všechněm do prachu země složenu býti* (as an illustration of *býti s infin.*, p.22); and elsewhere: *ostnem slávy bodenu býti* (under *bodati koho*, p.11); *bouří metánu býti* (under *bouře*, p.12); or *břemenem chudoby stíženu býti* (under *břímě*, p.18).

If we were to look at Šebek's assembled material merely as an idiosyncratic corpus of sixteenth-century Czech, we would miss one final point which needs to be mentioned. Scattered within many of the entries there are illustrations glossed *us.*, that is, valid in contemporary (nineteenth-century) usage. Neither in the annotations, nor in the Foreword does Šebek define the scope of the expression. But if it could be taken as evidence that the items so glossed were indeed current in the second half of the nineteenth century, then we would have at our disposal a body of genuine nineteenth-century idiomatic usages. For that is what such items in *Česká fraseologie* are, rather than being mere illustrations of collocations or valency patterns as in the case of the 'historic' examples. We may even glean from them an occasional hint of period *realia* — for what else but the actions of the Royal and Imperial Austrian secret police could have engendered the expression, cited as common usage: *Včera, když jsme nejlépe spali, počali bouřiti na dům*²⁰ (under *bouřiti*, p.12)?

¹⁹ See p.24 herein.

²⁰ 'Yesterday, while we were in our deepest sleep, they began hammering at the door.'

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INVENTORY OF THIRD-PERSON PLURAL FORMS OF THE CZECH PRESENT TENSE AS AN EXAMPLE OF CATEGORIZATION AND CHANGE BY ANALOGY¹

The most recent literature on developments in Czech morphology, which are often primarily concerned with the morphological analysis of those versions of the contemporary language known variously as Common Czech (*obecná čeština*), everyday spoken Czech (*běžně mluvená čeština*) and others, or its individual, identifiably distinct regional variants (i.e. the many works describing the everyday speech of all kinds of urban environments, but especially Prague), usually notes, among others, the strong tendency for the two forms of the third-person plural of the fourth class² to merge in favour of one or the other. Within the current fourth class, and taking the more or less traditional examples of this variation, based on surface distinctions in the infinitive, the types involved are:

/l/ *nosit* *trpět* *sázet*
 | |

and their corresponding third-person plural forms:

/2/ *noší* *trpí* *sázejí*

The other personal forms of all sub-types of class 4 are the same, i.e. *-im*, *-iš*, *-i*, *-ime*, *-ite*. The forms of the third person plural show, as indicated above, a marked tendency to overcome this 'redundant' variation, but in two, opposite, directions.

- a) The latest Academy grammar states:
While standard Czech still preserves the previous differences in the third person plural (*prosí, trpí* x *sázejí*), with many verbs that have lost the

¹ Adapted from a paper prepared for the Linguistics Association of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

² The third person plural contains the sole surviving difference of once quite distinct conjugational classes. The shifts involved are illustrated in Table 9.22 (p.490) in B. Comrie and G.G. Corbett (eds): *The Slavonic Languages*, London, 1993. In what follows the remarks applied to *sázet* also apply to *umět*.

connection with their original word-formational type, this form shows considerable fluctuation. Given the enhanced awareness of the stylistic differentiation of morphological variants (which is aided by the clearly felt non-literary ['nespisovný'] quality of the Common Czech uniform *-ě(e)j* as well as various other unified forms applied in the dialects), the formant *-í* is these days felt, against the background of overall developments within class 4, as the more literary, with the consequence that it is increasingly penetrating into verbs of the *sázet* type, especially in written texts.³

The ensuing paragraphs in the same source then deal with the degree of fluctuation between and among various forms of verbs in all three sub-groups (*prosit-trpět*, *prosit-sázet* and *trpět-sázet*); detailed discussion of these is not here necessary.

b) The above quotation contains a reference to the other solution to the formal disparity within the third-person plural of otherwise congruent conjugational types, viz the preference for uniform *-ěj(i/í)*, *-ej(i/í)* in Common Czech. The relevance of the 'various other unified forms applied in the dialects' alluded to is not very clear, since I believe none of them would be serious candidates to deputize for either of the two standard forms. I shall return briefly to the dialect forms later.

It is instructive to proceed next with a look back to the early state of affairs in the third persons throughout Czech declension.

The state of affairs in Old Czech: Old Czech had the following third person plural forms:

/3/ *vedú pekú mrú pnú mažú berú tisknú kryjú kupujú* etc. and
 prosie trpie and *dělajú sázějú*⁴

If we then summarize the position after the main Old Czech sound changes, we find the corresponding set:

/4/ *vedou pekou mřou pnou maží berou tisknou kryjí kupují* and
 prosí trpí and *dělají sázejí*

This, partly also thanks to changes elsewhere in the various conjugations, is what led to a re-evaluation of the degree of associatedness among the various sub-types. Thus *maží*,

³ *Mluvnice češtiny, II: Tvarosloví*, Prague, 1986, p.468.

⁴ The ordering is here based on that in Lamprecht, Šlosar and Bauer: *Historický vývoj češtiny*, Prague, 1977.

kryjí and *kupují* (but not *mřou*, despite the 'soft' ř, which came in via other personal forms) became more distanced from the other variants of the e-conjugation; *sázejí* moved further away from *dělají* and came closer to *prosí/trpí*.

Later changes then brought about the current state of affairs in (average) Common Czech, whereby the matching inventory is:

/5/ *vedou pečou mřou pnou mažou berou tisknou krejou kupujou*⁵
 prosej trpěj and *dělaj sázej*, now reassessed in fact as
 prosej trpěj sázej and *dělaj*

Two commonly noted facts are relevant here:

a. Many speakers who use for everyday purposes that still rather fuzzy version of Czech that stands on the borderline between (non-spoken and unequivocally) 'literary' (*spisovná*) Czech and (always spoken and unequivocally) Common Czech exhibit greater misgivings about forms such as *mažou*, *kryjou*, *kupjou* and countless others than they do if driven to use the corresponding forms of the first-person singular;⁶

b. All descriptions of the various versions of everyday spoken Czech allow for two or three variants in the forms of the third person plural of the fifth and fourth verb classes, viz

i) forms corresponding to the literary standard:

/6/ *dělají, sázejí*, and with them *prosejí* and *trpějí*

ii) forms with the final long -í shortened:

/7/ *dělaji a sázeji/proseji/trpěji*

iii) forms in which the disyllabic ending is reduced to a monosyllable:

/8/ *dělaj a sázej/prosej/trpěj*.

⁵ I ignore here such other matters as the changes which led from *pekú* to *pečou*, or the low probability that such forms as *pnou* or *mřou* would ever occur in any spoken Czech, let alone Common Czech, utterance; it is sufficient that such compounds of them as *zapnou* or *zemřou* match the pattern given.

⁶ See *inter al.* P. Sgall, J. Hronek, *Čeština bez příkras*, Prague, 1992, p.58: 'first-person singular forms (*kupuju*) penetrate more readily than the corresponding forms of the third person plural (*kupjou*)'; statistical evidence for this is given on pp.105-06.

Let us now return to the regional dialects.⁷

With the exception of the south-west dialects, all Bohemian dialects exhibit a state very similar to that given above for Common Czech. One contrasting pattern is in such south-west Bohemian forms as *umí* for the general Bohemian [*umnějí/umněji/umněj*].

In the Haná dialects of Moravia the dominant endings in the third-person plural for all verb classes are: *-ó*, *-ajó* and *-ijó*; in the Moravian-Silesian *-u*, *-aju*, *-a/-ja*; in the Moravian-Slovak *-ú*, *-ajú*, *-á* or *-ú*, *-ajú*, *-tja*; and in the Polish-Czech belt of mixed dialects *-ûm*, *-ajûm* a *-ûm*.⁸ The ending *-(±Č)í* (Č = any 'soft' consonant) has disappeared (or did not even evolve) almost everywhere,⁹ and a form corresponding to Old Czech *-ie* is preserved only in the Branice dialect.¹⁰

The morphological significance of the forms of the third-person plural (and first-person singular) of Czech verbs resides in the fact that the diachronic view points to an area in which there have been many changes and reassessments in time, while the synchronic (or contrastive) view points to a consequent variety of forms that can be matched by few other Slavonic languages.¹¹ The two sets of forms (first sg. *-i*, *-u*, *-(á)m*, *-(t)m*, *-ch*; third pl. *-ou*, *-í*, *-ejí/-ějí*, *-ají*, in the standard language) thus differ from all the other persons, where person is (and through history has been) expressed consistently irrespective of conjugational class (with the exception of *-s-* for the dominant *-š* in isolated forms of the second person

⁷ The following data are taken from Bělič's *Přehled nářečí českého jazyka* (Prague, 1981), which explains why some data appear to be missing. This is merely because the third-person plural is simply not always interesting in this or that dialect.

⁸ It is not the intention here to go into the actual distribution of the available endings among the conjugations in this or that dialect group; in part it will become apparent later. In any case, it is assumed that the reader with a knowledge of Czech will be able to assume with reasonable certainty which ending belongs to which class or classes.

⁹ However, according to Bělič (*Přehled*, p.62), there is, in some of the Opava dialects, an ending *-i*, showing the regular shortening appropriate to that region.

¹⁰ Bělič, p.63. Note that Branice lies within Poland.

¹¹ The forms of the first person singular have been studied in great detail by Laura Janda, beginning with her paper 'Categorization and analogical change: the case of athematic 1 sg *-m* in the Slavic languages' at the International Cognitive Linguistics Association conference in Louvain in 1993. In *Back from the Brink* (LINCOM Studies in Slavic Linguistics, Munich, 1996) she investigates this and a number of other relic forms serve analogical change in Czech. She is, however, in her subject on rather safer ground than the present author, since she is dealing with a process that is complete, whereas the material discussed here is 'living', unstable, and points to merely possible future developments.

singular of the verb *být*).¹²

The current outcome is the product of a mixture of sound changes evidenced elsewhere in the language and changes wrought by the pressure commonly called analogy. The prototype of the joint action of the two principles in time is the evolutionary sequence *mažú > maží > mažou*.

There is one possible way in which analogy may have been at work which is hardly ever (if at all) considered. If we look either back to the condition in Old Czech or across at the condition in any of the dialects of modern Czech we cannot fail to notice one very simple fact. With the exception of the south-west Bohemian dialects mentioned above and the currently codified standard (which is of course a dialect *sui generis*), the forms of the third-person plural of all conjugational classes differ from the corresponding third-person singular forms. For Old Czech this may be illustrated by the following schema (simplifying the inventory used in /3/-/5/):

/9/	sg.	<i>vede</i>	<i>běře</i>	<i>tiskne</i>	<i>kryje</i>	<i>prosí</i>	<i>trpí</i>	<i>dělá</i>	<i>sází</i>
	pl	<i>vedú</i>	<i>berú</i>	<i>tisknú</i>	<i>kryjú</i>	<i>prosie</i>	<i>trpie</i>	<i>dělajú</i>	<i>sázějú</i>

‘Unhappily’, as a consequence of the second Old Czech *umlaut* (post-palatal *-u > -i*) and the monophthongization of *ie > í* a new schema arose instead:

/10/	sg.	<i>vede</i>	<i>bere</i>	<i>tiskne</i>	<i>kryje</i>	<i>prosí</i>	<i>trpí</i>	<i>dělá</i>	<i>sází</i>
	pl.	<i>vedou</i>	<i>berou</i>	<i>tisknou</i>	<i>kryjí</i>	<i>prosí</i>	<i>trpí</i>	<i>dělají</i>	<i>sázejí</i> ¹³

This had two important consequences:

i) *prosit* and *trpět* became atypical in that the difference between singular and plural in the third person was obliterated;

ii) *sází* sounds the same, as far as the ending is concerned, as *prosí* and *trpí*.

Given that the acoustic coincidence under ii) is replicated right through the conjugation of *sázet*, *prosit* and *trpět*, with the exception of the third-person plural, the way is open to the possible ultimate fusion of the two paradigms, including, finally, their third-

¹² I ignore here the familiar exception constituted by instances where the otherwise universal first person plural ending *-me* may be replaced by *-m* provided this would not lead to isomorphism with the first person singular.

¹³ Any other changes to have occurred are again ignored here; they have no effect on the matter in hand or the processes being considered.

person plural. And to the extent that we may look at Czech conjugation as a system characterized prototypically by heteromorphism of all the personal forms, then, given the existence of a second possible expression for 'third-person plural' appropriate to an *í*-based conjugational class, it is entirely plausible that the non-prototypical isomorphisms *proší/proší* and *trpí/trpí* might suitably, by an abduction, be overcome precisely by the selection of that second possibility, namely the ending *-ejí/-ějí*.

However, until that comes about once and for all — and the indications are that developments are presently no more than half-way there, though the process has begun (see the earlier quotation from the Academy grammar) — we still have the situation whereby the third-person plural of verbs of the *proší* and *trpí* types have the conspicuously 'literary' (*spisovný*) ending *-í*. I believe this is sufficient to sustain that ending, irrespective of origin, to continue to be felt, by the operation of some remote analogy, highly appropriate *in that (literary) function*. Even, that is, in the case of, say, *maží*, where, as noted above, there are still certain stronger inhibitions at work in (non-substandard) spoken colloquial Czech against its replacement by *mažou* (the same applying even more strongly in the case of, for example, *kupují > kupujou*), than is the case in the first-person singular forms *mažu*, *kupuju*, replacing *maži*, *kupuji* (despite the fact that the two positions are essentially entirely parallel, both as regards the operation of the second Old Czech *umlaut* and the analogical pull of the corresponding hard paradigm).

So much then for the possible, but easily imaginable and readily understandable process which could lead to the eventual adoption of the ending *-ejí/-ějí* in the third-person plural of all fourth class verbs.

Within the current standard language there are still two third-person plural endings of a similar type, namely *-ají* and *-ejí/-ějí*, standing in opposition to the relevant singular forms in *-á* and *-í*. On top of that we know from numerous descriptions that these plural forms show a ready tendency to shorten, either by loss of length in the final syllable, i.e. to *-aji* and *-eji/-ěji*, or by a whole syllable, i.e. to *-aj* and *-ej/-ěj*. Note that neither of these alternatives infringes the principle whereby the singular and plural forms 'ought', according to the hypothetical prototype, to differ. This raises the question of whether there might not be some grounds according to which one or other of the plural versions might be the preferred one.

One might here erect another hypothesis, based on the fact that several indicators suggest that the shortest version is the most likely candidate in the long run.

First, it would introduce an extra parallel with other conjugational patterns, namely in that the third-person endings, singular and plural, would consist of one syllable; the current disyllabic endings are an anomaly, if not a kind of redundancy. The only exceptions

to this state of affairs would be a small group of verbs that have always been anomalous and on the morphological periphery (frequently occurring though they may be), namely *jíst* (*jí-jedí*), *vědět* (*ví-vědí*) and *chtít* (*chce-chtějí*).

Secondly, the remaining third-person plural endings in Czech are the diphthongal *-ou* and the not yet disappeared long *-í*. Yet we have the evidence of Common Czech that *-í* in the first class variants is vulnerable and likely to be replaced by *-ou*.

Thirdly, it is easy to imagine that if ever the monosyllabic variants *-aj* and *-ej/-ěj* in the fifth and both (historic) versions of the fourth class win through, that is, if the still conspicuously 'literary' *-í* does disappear from the fourth class, that could trigger the final disappearance of *-í* from the soft variants of the first class and its definite replacement by *-ou*.

Altogether this would create the situation in which any Czech verb (with the probable peripheral exceptions mentioned above) would have, in the third-person plural, a monosyllabic ending: *-ou*, *-aj* or *-ej/ěj*. (Moreover, as we have noted, none would ever clash with its corresponding singular form.)

The whole preceding argument is based on the assumption that the hypothetical levelling of forms, both in terms of syllable length of otherwise equivalent forms, and in terms of the abduction that it is appropriate that singular and plural forms should be different, would constitute a (desirable?) simplification of the system, and one which has the virtue of not entailing any new incongruities, at least not as far as conjugation itself is concerned. It is of course taken as axiomatic that any such development is neither necessary, nor inevitable, given the general uncertainty of evolution in language: the sample solutions in the living dialects demonstrate that this is so. Nevertheless, it provides an image of a *possible* development and one which has considerable attraction, especially given the number of indications that the process has already begun.

It remains now to compare, or characterize the three third-person plural endings, *-ou*, *-aj* and *-ej/-ěj* that might, under this scenario, evolve.

All current accounts of Czech describe [ou], anywhere in the word, as a diphthong; V + [j] chains are not. Nevertheless, it would be worth considering whether they do not, after all, have something in common, that is whether [ou] and [aj]/[ej/ěj] are not already tending towards some common characteristic. It seems to the writer not to be unthinkable that in fact both types represent either final diphthongs ([ou], [ai] and [ei]), or monophthongs accompanied by a glide: a labial glide in the case of [o] (which is marked 'back' and 'rounded'), and a palatal glide in the case of [e] (marked 'front' and 'non-rounded') and of [a], in which the front-back and rounded-unrounded oppositions are essentially neutralized, though the sound is, in articulatory terms, closer — perhaps — to [e]. The fact that the

incidence of such sounds, or sequences of sounds — characterized in the common terms suggested and having a common function (expression of 3rd pl.) — might be restricted to that very (morphonological, even categorizational) function would not be without precedent. Suffice it to recall the considerable constraints on the occurrence of long *ě* in Czech (not to mention the even greater constraints on it in Slovak).¹⁴

As already noted, this imaginary evolution would not trigger any new imbalance within the conjugational system. On the contrary, it represents a considerable 'tidying up'. However, a different imbalance would emerge elsewhere; after all, almost any change at one point in a system is apt to create problems elsewhere, and in essence this entire essay has been about one such case: if there had been no change *ie* > *í*, there would be no (undesirable) isomorphism of the third-person singular and plural of Czech class four verbs to be overcome).

For one thing there would be a new relationship between the finite and non-finite forms of the various verb classes, especially in the procedures for forming the imperative and the (present) active participle. As far as the *imperative* is concerned, suffice it to say that even in the present stage of development of the morphology of fourth class verbs there are many irregular patterns;¹⁵ and as for the *active participle* (or its fully adjectivalized equivalents, which are more likely to occur in spoken versions of Czech than the participles proper), the relationship is already broken, which may sometimes escape notice.¹⁶ Put simply, there would have to be a slightly more complex account of participle formation than is currently the case, and diachronic considerations would have to be brought in to a greater extent than is currently necessary (note 16 indicates an already existing need).

¹⁴ The ending *-ej*, especially if characterized as a diphthong (and so as a vowel), would also serve in the adjectival category, in such forms as *dobrej*, should it ever assert itself successfully in the nominative singular masculine. The gains would be twofold: a) prototypically, nominative adjectival forms all end in a vowel; b) there would always be a difference, whatever the stem-final consonant, between nom. sg. and nom. pl. in the masculine; admittedly, this would be, on the whole, a redundant distinction, given that gender and case markers are important in the adjectives only secondarily. Endings *-ej* and *-aj*, as vocalic, would also sit well in the imperative system, where the base forms, the singular, have (prototypically?) either zero or (precisely) vocalic markers.

¹⁵ See in particular the account in *Mluvnice češtiny, II: Morfologie*, § 3.4.2.2.3.3, pp.483-84.

¹⁶ For example, J.D. Naughton, in *Colloquial Czech* (London, 1987 and later editions), says that the active participle is formed 'by adding *cí* to the 3rd pers. pl. present tense of imperfective verbs (this gives either *-ící* or *-oucí*)' (p.156); yet this beginners' course teaches only forms in *-ou* in the first class of verbs, which would then elicit such impossible forms as, say, **píšoucí*. Note also the commonly occurring alternatives *souvisící* and *souvisějící* from *souviset*, which point to a version of the same problem in a class four verb.

This chapter is not intended as an impertinence on the part of a non-Czech, but merely an attempt at a prognosis of evolutionary trends that are well within the 'spirit' of Czech and are already present embryonically. It is possible, if not probable, that conservative counter-pressures may ultimately prove stronger than in cases where analogy and recategorization have already done their work in long-past periods of the history of Czech.

(Appendix overleaf)

Appendix (3rd sg. and pl. in the Czech dialects as distilled from Bělič, op.cit.)

	3rd sg.	3rd pl.
Bohemia	<i>dává</i> <i>hází</i> <i>nosí</i> <i>umí</i> <i>pláče</i> <i>vede</i>	<i>dávaj</i> <i>házej</i> <i>nosej</i> <i>umněj</i> <i>pláčou</i> <i>vedou</i>
S-W Bohemia	<i>proší</i> <i>umí</i> <i>nese</i> <i>bije</i> <i>volá</i>	<i>proší</i> <i>umí</i> <i>nesou</i> <i>bijou</i> <i>volají (-aji, -aj)</i>
N-E Bohemia	<i>nese</i> <i>bije</i> <i>proší</i> <i>umí</i> <i>volá</i>	<i>nesou</i> <i>bijou</i> <i>prosej (-eji, -ejí)</i> <i>umněj (-ěji, -ějí)</i> <i>volaj (-aji, -ají)</i>
Haná (cent. Moravia)	<i>pije</i> <i>maže</i> <i>proší</i> <i>homí</i> <i>trpí</i> <i>ví</i> <i>jí</i>	<i>pijó</i> <i>mažó</i> <i>prosijó</i> <i>homijó</i> <i>trpijó</i> <i>vijó</i> <i>jijó</i>
Moravia-Silesia	<i>ňese</i> <i>prosi</i> <i>umi</i> <i>voła</i>	<i>ňesu</i> <i>prosa</i> <i>umja</i> <i>vołaju</i>
Opava	<i>ňese</i> <i>prosi</i> <i>vola</i>	<i>ňesu</i> <i>prosa/proša/pros'i</i> <i>volaju</i>
or	<i>ňese</i> <i>prosi</i> <i>voła</i>	<i>ňesu</i> <i>prošu</i> <i>vołaju</i>

Branice	<i>prosi</i>	<i>pros'ie</i>
Ostrava	<i>nese</i> <i>prosi</i> <i>umi</i> <i>vola</i>	<i>nesu</i> <i>pros'a/pros'o</i> <i>umja/umjo</i> <i>volaju</i>
Moravian-Slovakia Nth and Sth	<i>vede</i> <i>pije</i> <i>volá</i> <i>prosí</i>	<i>vedú</i> <i>pijú</i> <i>volajú</i> <i>prosá</i>
Central	<i>vede</i> <i>pije</i> <i>volá</i> <i>prosí</i> <i>umí</i>	<i>vedú</i> <i>pijú</i> <i>volajú</i> <i>prosíja</i> <i>umíja</i>
Kopaničářské dialects.	<i>prosí</i> <i>leží</i> <i>umí</i>	<i>prosá</i> <i>ležá</i> <i>umejú</i>

Nýdek (S-E of Těšín): always a nasal in 3rd pl.: *nesø/nesy*. More generally in the Polish-Czech mixed belt: *nesûm, prošûm, umûm, vowajûm*.

TRENDS IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE PAST TENSE IN CZECH¹

The non-native student of a language is sometimes, inevitably, struck by areas within the language studied that are patently in flux, that is, evolutionary change is actually visible. This may transpire from the view of changes as put across by the language's own codifiers and other linguists, or from observation of the written evidence of change evinced in documents from — ideally — linguistically unsophisticated users.

Relatively simple examples of evolution in the Czech verb in recent times include the demise — practically complete — of infinitives in *-ti*, the successful battle for acceptance by infinitives in *-ct*, or the great assertiveness of first-person forms in *-ju*, *-jou* alongside, for example, *-šu*, *-šou* on the one hand and their own 'predecessors' *-ji*, *-jí* on the other.² The state of affairs as presented in *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého (SSJČ)* and *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost (SSČ)* provides a useful image of how things have developed.³ Of particular interest is the situation of the *l*-participle (past tense), especially the masculine singular form of consonant-stem verbs, and the actual extent of formal variation illustrated not only in Czech 'at all',⁴ but also, and chiefly, in the perhaps unconscious manifestations of it in popular (consumer, trivial) literature.

Prophecy in any age and in any field is tricky, but this particular area of contemporary Czech has its own allure to the would-be prophet. Accordingly, this chapter

¹ Revised version of a paper given in Czech at a conference on standard Czech held at Olomouc in 1992.

² It is well established that, despite the historical analogy underlying its emergence, the third-person plural ending *-jou* is still not as stable as the 'matching' first-person singular ending *-ju*. See, for example, Petr Sgall and Jiří Hronek, *Čeština bez příkras*, Prague, 1992; hereafter Sgall, Hronek.

³ Especially some paragraphs in the 'Zásady' [Principles] in the first edition (1979) of *SSČ* (pp.779ff). The equivalent section (pp.641ff.) in the second (1994) edition is less comprehensive.

⁴ This is the *čeština vůbec* discussed, albeit from a different perspective, by Zdeněk Starý in *Psací soustavy a český pravopis*, Prague, 1992.

seeks in part to be no more than a musing on how the set of relevant forms may eventually come to be stabilized, even in the non-substandard registers of the language, i.e. at the lower end of a future accepted standard.

With ever increasing frequency, the status of certain forms in Czech has been discussed from the point of view of their eventual inclusion within the codified standard language, present or future. The thoughts which follow will deal firstly with the masculine past-tense forms of consonant-stem verbs of both types, namely *nést* or *péct* and others on the one hand, and *tisknout* etc. on the other. It is usually claimed that wherever there are two competing forms, these are either stylistically equivalent doublets, or doublets of which either is selected on the basis of a range of stylistic, situational, generational or even, if indirectly, semantic and phonetic variables.⁵ The problem with these past-tense forms is compounded by the existence in part of the set of three competing forms. If we were to tabulate them along with the — real or potential — forms with which, according to various sources, they regularly co-occur, we would arrive at the following schema:⁶

	<u>m.sg.</u>	<u>fem.sg.</u>	<u>masc.an.pl.</u>
1.1	(<i>nes</i>) <i>l</i>	(<i>nes</i>) <i>la</i>	(<i>nes</i>) <i>li</i>
1.2	(<i>nes</i>) \emptyset	(<i>nes</i>) <i>la</i>	(<i>nes</i>) <i>li</i>
2.1	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>l</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>la</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>li</i>
2.2	(<i>tisk</i>) \emptyset	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>la</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>li</i>
2.3	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>nul</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>la</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>li</i>
2.4	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>nul</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>nula</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>nuli</i>

The two combinations of short masculine forms and extended non-masculine forms, i.e.

2.5	(<i>tisk</i>) \emptyset	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>nula</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>nuli</i>
2.6	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>l</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>nula</i>	(<i>tisk</i>) <i>nuli</i>

apparently lack any motivation and consequently are never discussed, and so here too they will be ignored.

Lines 1.1 a 2.1 essentially correspond to the 'most literary' (or highest style) late

⁵ Cf. *Mluvnice čestiny, II: Tvarosloví*, Prague, 1986, p.446.

⁶ Nothing is to be gained by entering separately the neuter singular or the remaining plural forms; it is tacitly assumed that what applies to the feminine and masculine animate plural also applies to all forms having a morphological marker. In any case, only combinations occurring in currently codified Standard Czech would call for additional plural forms.

twentieth-century standard. Line 1.2 seems to reflect the most widespread usage at all stylistic levels apart from written texts governed by the requirements of the current standard usage.⁷ The sets in lines 2.2 and 2.3 are, for their part, conspicuously unstable, inconstant, 'group doublets'. *Mluvnice češtiny*⁸ refers to the relatively more awkward pronunciation of forms ending in (syllabic) *-l*, and to the penetration of forms including *-nu-* based on an analogy with the infinitive as stylistically marked; in the case of verbs derived from interjections (probably including onomatopoeia) these forms are evaluated as 'equivalent to the original forms', while in verbs with an inherent colloquiality or 'expressive' quality, the forms with *-nu-* tend to predominate. Not until the footnote on p.447 is it stated that 'in everyday speech analogical forms in *-nu-* are used in all forms of the past active participle [i.e. line 2.4 above]. In Common Czech the final consonantal cluster in the masculine singular is often also simplified by dropping the suffix *-l...*', i.e. as in the case of *nes*, *pek* [line 2.2 behaving like 1.2 above]. On this subject Sgall and Hronek state: '... in everyday speech forms such as, for example, *tisknul*, *uštknul* predominate not only over their opposite numbers *tiskl*, *uštkl* (exclusively literary in Bohemia), but also over the forms *tisk*, *uštk* and the like; if the stem does not end in a consonantal cluster, the opposite tends to apply: the position of *příběh*, *spad* is relatively secure in comparison with *příběhnul*, *spadnul*. And even in Common Czech forms such as *tiskla*, *tiskli* are commoner than *tisknula*, *tisknuli*.'⁹ Even with the caution which informs these utterances (the use of such expressions as *často* 'often', *asi* 'probably' or *spíše* 'more likely' in the original), they do indicate an general preference

⁷ Several statements may be adduced in support of the 1.2 set, e.g.: 'Some elements marked "colloquial" are shifting towards the position of stylistically neutral devices, as advancing, evolutionarily progressive, variants. What usually happens at the same time is that an item that was originally stylistically neutral shifts into the stratum of unequivocally literary devices, to become ultimately bookish, i.e. to join the group of those stylistically marked elements which, from the point of view of evolutionary dynamics, are receding and fulfil special functions within the standard written language' (*Mluvnice češtiny: II*, p.270); or: '... Common Czech forms such as *nes*, *pek*, *moh*, *sed si* ... (in Bohemia) have long been common even in discourse conducted in a generally standard form of the language, and also in, for example, poetry' (Sgall, Hronek, p.57). In support of the status of these forms the authors, appealing to the undisputed (?) authority of Bohuslav Havránek, continue: 'as early as the 1930s, B. Havránek described them as typical features of the colloquial version of the standard [*spisovný*] language' (ibid.). The earlier reference to verse may serve as a reminder that line 2.2 need not be excluded from written Czech. Poetic usage, however, and the period(s) when such forms have flourished in verse, and how these forms may have been evaluated at different periods are matters beyond the immediate scope of this essay; any appeal to such poets as, say, Vrchlický will probably help us less than observation of conditions in contemporary prose or in the prose of those poets who use(d) the relevant forms in their verse.

⁸ Vol.II, pp.446-47.

⁹ Sgall, Hronek, pp.57-58.

for the set in line 2.3 above in the case of verbs with a stem-final consonantal cluster, and line 2.2 in verbs having a single stem-final consonant, which would seem to be symptomatic of the overlap between the behaviour of this type and that of forms represented by line 1.2, where no instances of a stem-final consonantal cluster in the past tense are attested.

It is imaginable that development — at least in Bohemia — will proceed, even in neutral standard Czech, to the final victory of the sets in lines 1.2 and 2.2, but 2.3 in the case of final consonantal clusters. No one (let alone a foreigner) can of course force it in this direction.¹⁰ However, at least in the case of lines 1.2 and 2.2 there is a systemic advantage in that, as in all other verbs in Czech, the masculine form is one syllable shorter than the other past tense forms, which the native speakers may abduce as the ‘proper’ state of affairs. And as for the phonological aspect, these series resolve the problem of alternating syllabic and non-syllabic /l/, which is present in the solutions in 1.1 and 2.1. This phenomenon of the alternation of the two types of /l/ is what actually entails that matter of ‘more awkward pronunciation’, referred to in *Mluvnice češtiny*. The alternation of syllabic and non-syllabic /l/ has appeared on several occasions during the history of Czech, and each time it has been overcome, presumably by the same kind of abduction as to its undesirability.¹¹ The set in 2.3 also has the advantage of eliminating that alternation of the two types of /l/, but it does not resolve the (conceivable) abduction of the desirably consistent difference in the number of syllables between the masculine singular form and those with the various gender/number markers. Thus any verbs which would be governed by the ‘rule’ of line 2.3, would, as an independent type, find themselves at the periphery of the system of past-tense formation of consonant-stem verbs.¹² And to the extent that this type could, yet need not be applied, viz in candidates for the solution in 2.2, space would be left for the ‘expressive’ mode.

Were it to be objected that in this way even a quite ordinary verb like *tisknout* might find itself at the periphery of the system, the obvious rebuttal must be that peripherality and frequency need in no way be mutually contingent. After all, the group of verbs to which lines 1.1 and 1.2 apply also includes *jít*, which is not ‘imperilled’ by the alternation of the two versions of /l/, nor is it then at risk of losing -l from the masculine past tense; but in terms of the number of syllables in the various forms, it has them all equally long: *šel, šla, šli* (also

¹⁰ ‘Voluntaristic pressure on a language is inexpedient; language is not shaped to the ideas of individuals, but according to its own internal laws.’ Dušan Šlosar: *Tisíciletá*, Prague, 1990, p.75.

¹¹ See the separate chapter on the distribution of /l/ in Czech on pp.167ff in this volume.

¹² A solution matching that presented in line 2.4 would overcome this inconsistency too, but for the time being there is insufficient pressure in its favour for it to be generally adopted by any revised standard. Thus among the abductions that could be made, the hierarchically stronger is currently that by which the alternation of the two versions of /l/ is to be overcome. But 200 years hence, who knows?

in all the compounds, e.g. *přišel, přišla, přišli*). It is their very frequency which will sustain their given formal, expressly peripheral status.

And if it were to be objected that the verbal system, or more precisely the morphology of the Czech verb, would, by the once-for-all adoption of the progressive masculine forms, say *přived*, be impoverished by the loss of the previously available distinction between, say, *přivedl* (past tense) and *přived* (past transgressive), an adequate rebuttal might be that the past transgressive is in any case a rare (and bookish) form (and therefore rarely likely to conflict with the new past-tense *přived*), not to mention its artificiality as a Revivalist re-creation; additionally, one might point to other, and more mundane, instances of homonymy in verb forms, such as *pošlete* (second-person plural future indicative) and *pošlete* (second-person plural imperative).

As for a possible third objection that certain conspicuously literary verbs like *stříci* (which itself has yet to advance so far as to receive the relatively recently codified type of infinitive in *-ct < ci*), or *chřadnout* would resist adoption of masculine forms without the marker *-l*, allowance would have to be made for the possibility that at the highest stylistic levels (or at this particular part of the periphery) the current state of affairs might survive much, if not infinitely, longer. There are precedents for this, namely in such clearly literary words as *mysl* 'mind', which have successfully resisted earlier movements in the language when an alternation of syllabic and non-syllable /l/ was being overcome, or the more ordinary word *jablko* 'apple' (with alternating /l/), which, while yielding largely to the form *japko* (without), has survived doubtless thanks to the form *jablek* (genitive plural), where the *-l-* does constitute more clearly part of the word's structure and so inhibits any development into **japek*.¹³

Thus it is obviously necessary to allow for the partial survival of the currently standard forms in *-l*, but pushed onto a gradually higher stylistic plane in the literary standard language (as suggested in the first quotation in Note 6).

To what extent Moravia (and Sgall and Hronek systematically, and *Mluvnice češtiny* occasionally, indicate awareness of the distinctiveness of the situation in Moravia) will adopt a position of a 'higher', 'historicizing' standard, only time will tell. The oft-quoted Moravian assertion that Moravian Czech is relatively 'better', or of a higher standard, might gain an additional argument if Bohemian Czech does go the way described here, but that need not raise fears of fragmentation of the national language, nor need Moravian speakers be forced into a Bohemian straitjacket which could create the conditions for overt linguistic separatism.

¹³ The (now unlikely) codification of the opposition of the forms *japko*, *japkem* etc. as 'standard' alongside the form *jablek* would be entirely comparable to the analogous, but ancient, opposition *tkalce-tkadlec*; see the essay referred to in Note 10.

If a Scot or an Englishman writes or speaks in a language that he would, if he used Czech terminology, call *spisovný*, that language may not be the same, but that will not jeopardize any global notion of 'standard' English.

Appendix

One means of assessing the current condition of the past-tense forms discussed here is analysis of the language of works of literature.¹⁴ Intuitively, the purpose would be best served by works which give an impression of 'naturalness', unconstructed authenticity. Here, the foreign observer is at an unavoidable disadvantage, since, lacking native-speaker intuition, he cannot describe a work against this yardstick with one hundred per cent certainty. Despite this, I have made a start on such an analysis, working on the language of Pavel Frýbort's *Vekslák*.¹⁵

As a text, *Vekslák* is remarkably rich in evidence of code switching. This consists not only of occurrences of different forms of one and the same verb, for example: *prohlídØ/prohlédl/prohlídnul* (pp.54/154/179); *všímØ/všiml/všimnul* (pp.45/108/184); *vyvlékl/převlíkØ/převlíknul* (pp.74/103/226); *kývl/kejvnul/přikývnul/přikývl* (pp.73/123/261/187),¹⁶ but also of co-occurrences of the relevant forms of different verbs, as in the sequence: *rozhlídØ jsem se - zahlédl jsem - rozpřáhnul jsem se - škytnul - zatáhnul (jsem) - vchrstnul jsem - vyplázØ* (p.74); *kouknul - seběhl - táhl - vyštěknul - blejsknul - nenabídØ - zabodØ - povzdechl - potřásl - říhl si* (pp.100-01).¹⁷ Clearly, it would be premature to draw any final conclusions at this stage, but in the second sequence the forms ending in *-nul* could well be explained by the good old Czech term 'expressivity', while the forms ending in *-l* are appropriate to their verbs as lexical items within the literary language. *NenabídØ* and *zabodØ* could be treated as representatives of the incoming middle road. On the other hand,

¹⁴ Sgall and Hronek write compellingly on the need for such analyses. They are not alone in suggesting that the works of Josef Škvorecký would constitute appropriate material. However, Škvorecký's work may not be the perfect object of study for this purpose, since many of them, including the linguistically most quirky, not to say self-conscious, *Příběh inženýra lidských duší* (Toronto, 1977) were written abroad. They undoubtedly merit analysis for other ends.

¹⁵ Prague, 1989. The first steps in the analysis are reported within a broader-based article: 'Common Czech and Common literature: the case of Frýbort', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 70, 1992, 2, pp.201-12.

¹⁶ All the examples are quoted in the article referred to above; they are repeated here for simplicity.

¹⁷ Intervening forms of verbs of other, non-relevant, verb classes have been omitted.

a neutral non-prefixed **bodØ* is hard to imagine,¹⁸ thus this factor — a possible difference between prefixed and non-prefixed versions of the same verb — must be taken into account.

While the analysis of the language of *Vekslák* is barely begun, it is already possible to confirm the scarcity of non-masculine singular forms with *-nul-*: they are quite absent, with the exception of occurrences of the peripheral verb typ *rozepnout*, where we find the feminine forms *-pnula* and *-pjala*, but not *-pla*.

It is not yet possible to identify 'what unifying principles determine the *choice and organization* of the linguistic means'¹⁹ (my emphasis) in the version(s) of colloquial Czech conveyed by *Vekslák*.

¹⁸ *Mluvnice čestiny* seems not to reckon with it either; see vol. II, p.446, which cites *bodl^h/bodnul* (^h = 'colloquial'); it may, however, be tacitly embraced by the note on p.447: 'In everyday speech versions with *-nu-* are used in all forms of the active participle. In Common Czech the final consonantal cluster in the masc. sg. is often simplified also by removal of the suffix *-l-* (*vytisk, zbled, zhub, říz se*), i.e. as in type A in Class 1 (*nes, pek*); these forms are restricted regionally to the western area.'

¹⁹ The discovery of these principles is a proper goal of full textual analysis, as formulated by M. Krčmová, 'Stálé komunikativní faktory a možnosti jejich využití při deskripci stylu', *Všeobecné a specifické otázky jazykové komunikácie*, Banská Bystrica, 1991, p.78.

A CLASSIFICATION FOR CERTAIN ASPECT-DERIVATIONAL CLASSES OF CZECH VERBS¹

This chapter offers a schematic account of a range of sub-sets of aspect pairings within the Czech verb system and entails some peripheral patterns of derivation.²

The description is motivated by the intuitive (but classroom-verifiable) notion that verbal prefixes are, in comparison with suffixes, in some sense more obvious, since they are not only more readily recognized formally, but their meaning is usually more amenable to definition. To the learner ignorant of morphemic analysis and/or the history of the language, verbal (derivational) suffixes are often less easy to apprehend and certainly semantically empty, although some may have assigned to them a particular semantic value: for example *-nout*, as in, say, *kopnout* 'kick', carries the feature 'semelfactive'; however, even this is not a once-for-all, unequivocal feature, given the prefix's other appearances in verbs denoting 'change of state', for example *vadnout* 'wilt'.

Most learners of Czech or other Slavonic languages do eventually come to grips with the category of verbal aspect, and so appreciate the contextual motivation for the appearance of this or that form met in use, and indeed will eventually use appropriate aspectual forms themselves. Eventually they merely need to be told what aspect a particular form has and the semantic and syntactic consequences that follow therefrom are more or less clear. They also grasp easily the basic principles of aspectual derivation, especially the basic 'rule' which says that prefixation of a simple ('primary', non-compound, non-derived) imperfective verb produces a perfective, whether *the* perfective counterpart of the basic verb, or a lexical

¹ Developed from a paper originally given at a Czech Studies symposium held in Prague in August 1979, and published as 'Návrh klasifikace některých vidově derivačních tříd z hlediska nečeského studenta' in Jaroslav Tax *et al.*: *Materiály z II. sympozia o bohemistice v zahraničí*, Prague, 1980, pp.49-54.

² The English-speaking student has notorious problems with the appreciation of even the main patterns of aspectual derivation. The description proposed is perceived as having some utility in Czech language pedagogy at the fringes of the system. The object would be to create, in the foreign learner, a proper awareness, ideally ultimately unconscious, on the formation and use of aspectually distinct forms of any (formal or semantic) type of verb.

perfective requiring the formation of an additional, 'secondary' imperfective by suffixation to cater for the additional lexical component, i.e.:

psát > *napsat*³ 'write'
popsat > *popisovat* 'describe' etc.
krást > *ukrást*³ 'steal'
okrást > *okrádat* 'rob'

The student has to learn the right secondary imperfectivizing suffix appropriate to a particular verb, since there are many cases where no firm predictions can be made (or where the misapplication of analogy could produce non-forms). Thus for *vyladit* 'tune' the suffix would be *-ova-*, producing *vylad'ovat*, while *zahladit* 'smooth off' requires the same suffix, but with a change to the stem-final consonant, hence *zahlazovat*; other verbs may produce yet other solutions, for example *uklidit* > *uklízet*. Yet all three of these examples have not only the same stem-final consonant, but also the same infinitive marker *-it* and with it a common pattern of conjugation. On the purely synchronic evidence there is no clue that the learner can be given as to the right suffix to select for secondary imperfective-formation (and so conjugational affiliation of the derived imperfective).

It is true that most bilingual dictionaries give imperfective equivalents (as the unmarked member of aspectual pairs) to English source verbs, and so the student need not be faced with the problem of selecting the right imperfectivizing prefix. He may still be faced, however, with the converse problem of the appropriate perfective counterpart to a particular imperfective form. This applies pre-eminently again to secondary prefixed forms: the verbs *zmrazovat* 'freeze [trans.]' and *zahlazovat* 'smooth off' have partners with different stem types: *zmrazit* and *zahladit* respectively. Knowledge of more basic underlying, motivating, words — the noun *mráz* 'frost' or the adjective *hladký* 'smooth' — might offer a lead, but such lateral evidence need not always be available: *zavírat* 'close' and *zabírat* 'take, take over' have the even more unlike counterparts *zavřít* and *zabrat*, for which such expressions as *závora* 'bolt' or *zábora* 'confiscation, occupation' are, on the purely synchronic plane, of no obvious use (ignoring the aspect of their relative rareness).

The difficulties associated with determining perfective counterparts to secondary prefixed imperfectives are compounded in the case of imperfective verbs which may, from the historical point of view, be derived (by suffixation), yet have no prefix, for example, the verbs *házet* 'throw', *dávat* 'give, put', *vracet* 'give/take back', *říkat* 'say, tell' or *hýbat* 'move'. Their actual derivedness is not immediately apparent owing to the fact that the suffix

³ Subsidiary formal matters such as the vowel-shortening in *napsat*, *popsat* vis-à-vis *psát*, or the change of conjugation between, say, *krade* and *ukradne* seem to be a lesser problem to the learner.

is not very conspicuous. This may lead the learner to interpret them, erroneously, as primary.

In this respect the (aspectual) pairs *dávat* < *dát*, *házet* < *hodit* are in a relation analogous to that of, say, *sedat si* > *sednout si* 'sit down' or the less perfect example *padat* > *padnout*⁴ 'fall' and others in which the direction of derivation is less opaque thanks to the previously mentioned suffix *-nout*, and of such more specialized types as *kupovat* < *koupit* 'buy', *bacat/bacit* 'thump, swipe', *práskat/praštit* 'strike, punch' or the suppletive *brát/vzít* 'take'. What unites them all is that neither member of any of the pairs is prefixed.

Czech also has other types of pairs of non-prefixed verbs — ones that are *not* in the standard imperfective-perfective aspectual opposition. They include, among others, the basic series of the verbs of motion,⁵ and such others as *vláčet* | *vléct* 'drag' or *lámat* | *lomit* 'break, snap', and perhaps such examples as *víjet* | *vinout* 'wind, twist', *kotit* | *kácet* 'fell' and some others of which the standard dictionary⁶ gives both forms, though with the gloss 'rare' or 'obsolescent' against one or other member of the pair, or gives attestations from relatively older sources.

In all the pairings mentioned, whether of the *vracet/vrátit*, *padat/padnout* (aspectual pairings ± at least partially transparent suffix in at least one member) or the *běžet* | *běhat*, *tahat* | *táhnout* (non-aspectual pairings ditto) types, the underlying motivation for the establishment of the pairings is the obvious and necessary sharing of a high degree of semantic equivalence.⁷ They may, as sources for derivation, be described by the term

⁴ The conventions adopted here are: the normal one for presenting aspectual pairs: imperfective first, perfective second; without reference to the direction of derivation, these are typically presented with a slash, in the form *dávat/dát*. However, wherever the direction of derivation — in aspectual pairings — is required to be indicated, the arrows > or < replace the slash. Other types of pairings will, where required, and usually without reference to direction of derivation, be marked by a vertical: |.

⁵ i.e. *jít* | *chodit* 'go, walk', *jet* | *jezdit* 'go, ride, travel', *nést* | *nosit* 'take, carry', *vést* | *vodit* 'take, lead', *vézt* | *vozit* 'take, convey [by vehicle]', *letět* | *létat* 'fly', *běžet* | *běhat* 'run', *hnát* | *honit* 'chase', *táhnout* | *tahat* 'pull'; the order in which these are here given is 'determinate | indeterminate', which is taken as conventional.

⁶ i.e. *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého (SSJČ)*, published by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in the 1960s and re-issued without further editing in the 1980s.

⁷ Ways of determining this include translation into foreign languages or verification by reference to cross-referencing within monolingual dictionaries; the equivalence must include not only lexical semantics, but also community of such features as transitivity, by which such items as the 'pairs' *ředit* | *řídnot* 'thin' (= 'dilute' | 'become sparse', i.e. transitive | in-

*dibasic*⁸ verbs (having two base forms), as opposed to the vast majority of primary non-prefixed *monobasic* verbs, such as *číst* 'read'. It might occasionally be necessary to take account of *tribasic* verbs to cater for such anomalies as *pučet|pukat|puknout* 'split, burst' or *chytat/chytit|chytnout* 'catch',⁹ but these are a truly rare phenomenon.

Dibasic verbs, thanks to the high degree of shared meaning of their members, may be treated as a unit *sui generis* — two parts of a particular lexeme.¹⁰ The fact that the range of grammatical categories and shades of meaning carried by the two members of any one pair that constitutes a dibasic verb is of course acknowledged, but is irrelevant to the account that follows.

For the learner of Czech it is important that s/he be aware of how many base forms a prefixless verb may have, the aspect of each member of dibasic pairs, and most particularly the aspect of any prefixed derivatives of either member; the lexical semantic heterogeneity of such derivatives is here left aside.

It would not be surprising if a Russian learner of Czech were to attribute an aspectual opposition to *vynosit|vynést* 'bring out, take out, carry out', jointly derived by the prefix *vy-* from the dibasic *nést|nosit*; he would simply be misled by what happens in his own language, where *выносить/вынести* truly *is* an aspectual pair derived by the parallel prefixation of *носить|нести*. Similarly, in practice, English learners sometimes reveal an abduction that if, say, dibasic *dávat/dát* or *vracet/vrátit* produce — by parallel prefixation — further genuine aspectual pairs, such as *vydávat/vydat* 'publish; hand out' or *vyvracet/vyvrátit* 'uproot; refute', then *házet/hodit* may (should?) produce an aspectual pair

transitive) or *plavat|plavit* 'swim|float [trans.]' are excluded from the discussion that follows. Such apparently tribasic examples as *černět|černit|černat* 'become|make| appear black' are excluded for similar reasons.

⁸ The term is based on the Czech *dvojvýchodný*, itself imitative of the established expression *trojvýchodný* ('tribasic'), as applied to the 'hard' adjectives with their three base (nominative singular) forms in *-ý, -á, -é* distinguishing gender, as opposed to the monobasic 'soft' adjectives, in which historical processes have left the same ending *-í* in all genders.

⁹ Nothing more will be said of these types here; suffice it to note that the first case quoted is probably excluded on the grounds that *pučet|pukat* have a semantic overlap that is more apparent than real (*pučet* being restricted collocationally to the bursting open of buds), leaving *pukat|puknout* as a more typical dibasic aspectual pair, while in the other, *chytnout* has evolved as a colloquial alternative to *chytit* with enhanced semelfactivity, expressed overtly by the suffix *-nout*. (A similar process applies to the two prefixed perfective forms available to the monobasic *mizet|zmizet|zmiznout*.)

¹⁰ More narrowly, this is already commonly the case in treatments of aspectual pairs and follows, up to a point, from some treatment of at least the core verbs of motion.

such as **vyházet/vyhodit*. The assumption is a false one, however well motivated.

In order to capture the relationship between non-prefixed and prefixed pairs a simple matrix can be adopted with the lines carrying the non-prefixed and prefixed forms, the columns the two members of a dibasic pair, for example:

/1/		1	2
	non-prefixed form	<i>dávat</i>	<i>dát</i>
	prefixed form	Pref + <i>dávat</i>	Pref + <i>dát</i> ¹¹

where for Pref any prefix may be inserted, provided the resultant combination is attested in Czech. Each foursome remains characterized by the core lexical meaning and may be described as a *lexical nest*.

The components in a matrix of the pattern in /1/ must each, as Czech verbs, be marked aspectually, either as imperfective (I) or perfective (P); theoretically, with four fields, there could be nine different mutations of /1/:¹²

/2/	a)	I - I	b)	I - I	c)	I - I
		I - I		I - P		P - P
	d)	I - P	e)	I - P	f)	I - P
		I - I		I - P		P - P
	g)	P - P	h)	P - P	i)	P - P
		I - I		I - P		P - P

The empirical evidence suggests that only patterns b), c), e) and f) actually apply in Czech. Evidence of the other theoretical possibilities has yet to be found, but a hypothesis that non-prefixed pairs cannot be P - P and prefixed pairs cannot be I - I seems extremely probable and corresponds generally to core patterns of aspect derivation in Czech.

The following examples illustrate patterns e), f), c) and b) — re-ordered in recognition of their relative centrality or peripherality within the system:

Class e): Dibasic verbs whose components are an aspectual pair, i.e. I - P, and from which prefixation produces another I - P pairing that is also aspectual:

¹¹ In practice allowance has to be made for certain other adjustments, as in this particular combination, where, with prefixation *dát* > *-dat*.

¹² N.B.: The order of the columns is irrelevant, the order of the lines relevant.

<i>dávat/dát</i> 'give'	<i>kupovat/koupit</i> 'buy'	<i>pouštět/pustit</i> 'let [go]'
<i>udávat/udat</i> 'state; denounce'	<i>skupovat/skoupit</i> 'buy up'	<i>spouštět/spustit</i> 'launch'

Class f): Dibasic verbs whose components are an aspectual pair, i.e. I - P, and from which prefixation produces a P - P pair that is not therefore an aspectual pair:

<i>házet/hodit</i> 'throw'	<i>skákat/skočit</i> 'jump'	<i>kopat/kopnout</i> 'dig; kick'
<i>vyházet vyhodit</i> 'throw out'	<i>vyskákat vyskočit</i> 'jump out'	<i>vykopat vykopnout</i> 'dig out kick out'

The 'missing' secondary imperfectives of these types are formed by one or other of the normal patterns of suffixation, hence *vyhazovat*, *vyskakovat* and *vykopávat* respectively.

Class c): Dibasic verbs whose components do not constitute an aspectual pair (I - I) and which prefixation perfectivizes on both sides (P - P):

<i>lámat lomit</i> 'break'	<i>táhnout tahat</i> 'pull'	<i>jet jezdit</i> 'go, drive'
<i>zlámat zlomit</i> 'break [off]'	<i>vytáhnout vytahat</i> 'pull out'	<i>najet najezdit</i> (various) ¹³

Class b): Rare cases of dibasic verbs whose components are not an aspectual pair (I - I) and from which prefixation produces a pairing that is aspectual:

<i>víjet vinout</i>	'wind, twist'
<i>vyvíjet vyvinout</i>	'evolve [trans.]'

In the interest of completeness, the patterns may be supplemented by what happens with the main class of Czech verbs, which are monobasic:

/3/	<i>psát</i> 'write'	<i>krást</i> 'steal'	<i>číst</i> 'read'	<i>mýt</i> 'wash'	I
	<i>opsat</i> 'copy'	<i>okrást</i> 'rob'	<i>vyčíst</i> 'rebuke'	<i>smýt</i> 'wash off'	P

¹³ The range of meanings of these derived forms are based on individual subsidiary meanings of the prefix and the underlying difference between the two source forms as specifically determinate and indeterminate members of the 'verbs of motion' category. What is important above all in the present discussion is their status as perfective verbs.

to which secondary imperfectives have to be provided by suffixation (the procedure replicated by class f) above):

opisovat *okrádat* *vyčítat* *smývat* I¹⁴

Classes /3/ and b) could be drawn together if monobasic verbs were presented as having a second component in the shape of the secondary imperfective form with the prefix removed, for example *-krádat* to *krást* or *-pisovat* to *psát*. Data on the available forms could be listed in dictionaries (not only bilingual, but also monolingual dictionaries), but not separately and without relation to the source verb, but at a point in entries where such extra details as the inventory of prefixes available to a particular verb, or the form of its frequentative etc., are given (as in *SSJČ*).

It might be suggested that frequentatives would always produce a second component to a particular verb, which would then become dibasic in the sense here suggested. However, they are omitted from the present discussion because, on the one hand, they can be derived more or less automatically from most verbs (primary or secondary imperfectives) subject to a small number of rules, and, on the other hand, they are always (for obvious semantic reasons) aspectually imperfective. Perhaps the only interesting feature they have is their formal equivalence or non-equivalence to secondary imperfectives, for example:

čítat|číst > *výčítat/výčíst*, *dělat|dělát* > *vydělat/vydělát* 'earn', as opposed to *psát|psávat* ✗ *vypsat/*vypsávat* (for I *vypisovat*).

The suggested presentation of patterns of aspectual and other derivation is not deemed to be complete, although what it offers appears to work satisfactorily in practice (as a teaching device). There are many questions that call for further presentation, such as the anomalous verbs *klást/položit*, *líbat/políbit*, *chápat/pochopit*¹⁵ and others in which perfectivization calls for more than mere prefixation; the suppletive dibasic *brát/vzít*, and verbs which exist only in variously prefixed forms, such as *po-*, *na-*, *vybízet/-bídnout*; the defective quality of *chápat|chopit*, *běžet|běhat* or *letět|létat* in which (generally) the left-hand member does not attract prefixes; verbs in which partial semantics play a part in determining the aspect of their compounds (the case of *říkat|říct* or *padat|padnout*, which may belong to classes e) or f) above); and the whole area of verbs derived from other than verbal base forms, illustrated chiefly by de-adjectival *umožňovat/umožnit* 'make possible' (< *možný* 'possible'), *vylepšovat/vylepšit* 'improve' (< *lepší* 'better') types.

¹⁴ Subclasses of this type have to be defined morphologically according to the suffix appropriate to this or that verb.

¹⁵ Not to mention *chápat|chopit*.

AN ALGORITHM FOR CZECH IMPERATIVE FORMATION

Czech has five regularly recognized conjugational classes, most with a number of variants, where variation is based chiefly on different relationships between the present-tense and infinitive stems. Against this complexity, imperative formation is one of the simplest parts of Czech verbal morphology.

The prototypical morphological imperative consists of a base-form ending in zero (2sg), to which personal suffixes are then added: **-me** (1pl) and **-te** (2pl or 'polite' sg). The main non-prototypical series consists of the endings **-i**, **-ěme/-eme**, **-ěte/-ete**, i.e. zero is replaced by **-i**, which then alternates with **-ě-** before the other personal markers. This latter set is used when the present-tense stem ends in two (rarely more) consonants. Learners' textbooks typically describe a number of subsidiary features (processes) which accompany imperative formation, but all of these can be catered for in a simple algorithm. The following selection of randomly ordered verbs provides — total anomalies apart — the full range of classes and sub-classes which need to be drawn together to produce the prototypical end-product; the non-prototypical variant will be disposed of by a binary opposition early in the algorithm. Each verb is given in the infinitive, the 3sg form (traditionally indicative of conjugational allegiance) and 3pl form (in any description of imperative formation, the point of departure is the 3pl form of the present [imperfective] or future [perfective] tense):

dělat-dělá-dělají 'do', *vést-vede-vedou* 'lead', *myslet-myslí-myslí* 'think', *navštívit-navštíví-navštíví* 'visit', *poslat-pošle-pošlou* 'send', *číst-čte-čtou* 'read', *vracet-vrací-vracejí* 'return [impfv]', *vrátit-vrátí-vrátí* 'return [pfv]', *dát-dá-dají* 'give', *rozpůlit-rozpůlí-rozpůlí* 'halve', *zout-zuje-zují/-ou* 'remove [footwear]', *prominout-promine-prominou* 'forgive', *pochopit-pochopí-pochopí* 'understand', *zajít-zajde-zajdou* 'pop round to', *dovolit-dovolí-dovolí* 'permit', *bít-bije-bijí/-ou* 'beat', *zbásnit-zbásní-zbásní* 'put into verse', *koupit-koupí-koupí* 'buy', *spát-spí-spí* 'sleep', *výt-vyje-vyjí/-ou* 'howl', *začít-začne-začnou* 'begin'.

The algorithm begins from the 3pl forms minus the final (long) vowel or diphthong, which is not necessarily coextensive with the actual 3pl desinence, hence:

dělaj-, *ved-*, *mysl-*, *navštív-*, *pošl-*, *čt-*, *vracej-*, *vrát-*, *daj-*, *rozpůl-*, *zuj-*, *promin-*, *pochop-*, *zajd-*, *dovol-*, *bij-*, *zbásn-*, *koup-*, *sp-*, *vyj-*, *začn-*.

Stage 2: Separate the items according to whether there is a) one consonant (the majority) or b) two exposed at the end of the stem; members of b) then adopt the non-prototypical endings described (standard orthographic and pronunciation rules apply regarding stems with final dentals or labials):

a.	b.
<i>dělaj-, ved-, navštív-, vracej-, vrát-, daj-, rozpůl-, zuj-, promin-, pochop-, dovol-, bij-, koup-, vyj-</i>	<i>mysl-, pošl-, čt-, zajd-, zbásn-, sp-, začn-, hence: mysli! myslíme! myslíte! pošli! pošleme! pošlete! čti! čtíme! čtíte! zajdi! zajděme! zajděte! zbásni! zbásněme! zbásněte! spi! spěme! spěte! začni! začněme! začněte!</i>

Stage 3: Separate those which have aa) a short or ab) a long final syllable, and shorten the latter:

aa.	ab.
<i>dělaj-, ved-, vracej-, daj-, zuj-, promin-, pochop-, dovol-, bij-, vyj-</i>	<i>navštív- > navštív-; vrát- > vrat-; rozpůl- > rozpul-; koup- > kup-</i>

Stage 4: Merge both sets and separate those ending in -j-, -t-, -d- or -n- (aaa) and those ending in other consonants (aab):

aaa.	aab.
<i>dělaj-, ved-, vracej-, daj-, zuj-, vrat-, promin-, bij-, vyj-</i>	<i>pochop! navštiv! dovol! rozpul! kup!</i>

Stage 5: Among members of aaa separate those ending in -j- (aaaa) from those ending in -t-, -d- or -n- (aaab), and palatalize the latter:

aaaa.	aaab.
<i>dělaj-, vracej-, daj-, zuj-, bij-, vyj-</i>	<i>ved- > veď! vrat- > vrať! promin- > promiň!</i>

Stage 6: Separate those ending in -aj- (aaaaa) from the remainder (aaaab):

aaaaa.	aaaab.
<i>dělaj-, daj-</i>	<i>vracej! zuj! bij! vyj!</i>

Stage 7: Change -aj- into -ej: **dělej! dej!**

Commentary:

- 1. All end-forms, i.e. actual imperatives, are in **bold**.
- 2. The examples ignore the improbability that some forms will actually occur in positive commands; the more probable negative forms have no effect on the morphological conditions described.
- 3. The end-forms in aab, aaab, aaaab and after stage 7 are all 2sg, to which **-me** and **-te** must be added to produce 1pl and 2pl forms.
- 4. Stage 3 has to follow stage 2 so that the long syllable in, for example, *zbásnit* remains long (a fact not generally catered for in learners' textbooks).
- 5. The patterns of vowel-shortening in stage 3 (under ab) represent some atypical morphonemic alternations. Elsewhere in Czech, indeed in other allomorphs of *navštívit*, a long *í*, if from **-ie-**, alternates with *ě*, as in *navštěvovat*. Similarly, long *ů*, outside this process in imperative formation, alternates with *o*, as in the allomorph *pol(-ovina)* and others. Shortening of the diphthong **ou** to **u** is a standard pattern.
- 6. At aaab there is a mixture of verbs in which the palatalization in the imperative is innovative, as in **veď** and **promiň** (also, for example, in **pleť**), while in others, like the *i*-conjugation **vrať** (but also, say, **nahraď** or **plň**), it had been present in the 3pl form from the outset. The pattern adopted in the algorithm serves to show how forms of the imperative in modern Czech have cut right across older patterns, previously more closely dependent on conjugational class.

Anomalous imperatives of various types

There are several types of anomalies in Czech imperative formation, chiefly concerning doublets, of which one member will fit the algorithm, the other being in some sense exceptional. The nature and rates of deviation from the patterns catered for in the algorithm are summarized in a table in the Academy grammar:¹

Type of form	zero only (i.e. the prototype)	doublets	only ending in <i>-i</i> (basically type b)
verbs ending in consonant cluster	isolates	fairly rare	very frequent
verbs ending in a single consonant:			
after a short vowel or syllabic <i>r, l</i>	always	—	—
after a long vowel	usually	fairly rare	isolates
after the diphthong -ou-	often	often	rarely

¹ *Mluvnice češtiny*, Vol.2, Prague, 1986, p.471.

The full details are given on pp.470-73, but it is apparent that the algorithm will break down preeminently in the case of verbs containing the diphthong *-ou-*, especially those which produce doublet forms, such as *loudit* 'coax' (**luď** | **loudi!**), *přimhouřit* 'squint' (**přimhuř** | **přimhouři!**)² and others, and some denominative which only allow for the non-prototypical imperative, such as *čalounit* 'upholster' (**čalouni!**) or *zamoučit* 'dredge [with flour]' (**zamouči!**). The 'fairly rare' instances of doublets in verbs whose stems end in a consonantal cluster, such as *umístit* 'site' (**umíst** | **umísti!**)³, *šetřit* 'save' (**šetř** | **šetři!**) are in fact more or less limited to some (but not all) verbs containing *-st'*, *-šť*, *-zď*, *-žď* and *-tř*. The anomalous position of these items is enhanced by the fact that the doublets tend not to be used in all three forms of the morphological imperative, a point merely hinted at in the Academy grammar. It fails to quote verbs containing *-vř*, notably *zavřít* 'close', *přivřít* 'half close' and *otevřít* 'open', which can also be heard to display doublets, again in some forms only (**zavři-zavř(e)te!**, **otevři(i)-otevř(e)te!**); such forms (presumably penetrating from a dialect — East Bohemia?) are not yet codified, though a morphemic equivalent of what would be the prototypical form (despite the double consonant) has long been around in a compound derivate, namely *otevřhuba* 'loudmouth'.

Some common verbs with individual anomalies

být 'be'

This verb is unusual in having two conjugations, one for present tense, one for future. In a full account of imperative formation its present tense must be excluded, the imperative being formed from the future 3pl *budou* (ending at aaab: **buď!**).

mít 'have'

As entirely regular in its conjugation, this verb (3pl *mají*) should, by stage 7, produce **mej*; however, the imperative shows an alternation shared with the past tense (and ultimately the infinitive) and has the form **měj!**

jít 'go, come' and *přijít* 'come, arrive'

Jít also has two conjugated forms, for present and future, but here both forms produce imperatives. The 3pl form *jdou* produces (in line with b.) imperatives **jdi-jděme-jděte** ('go'). The future 3pl form *půjdou* produces an anomaly: like *zajdou* (and *přejdou* and most other prefixed forms) it too ought to be in group b., but by an historical weakening of the *-j-* it proceeds via ab (but shortening *ů* to *o*) to produce **pojď-pojďme-pojďte** ('come'), or, in

² Note how in these two verbs, if the non-prototypical solution is adopted — despite the single consonant — vowel-shortening does not take place.

³ Here, if the prototypical solution is adopted — consonantal cluster notwithstanding — vowel-shortening applies; otherwise not, as in the example of *zbásnit*. This is a mirror-image to the cases of *loudit* and *přimhouřit*.

informal colloquial Czech, **poď-poďme-poďte**. Further pressure in favour of this prototypical type of imperative comes from the danger of overlap with the regularly formed (but non-prototypical) imperative **pojdi** (from *pojít-pojdou* 'die' [of animals]).

Most other determinate verbs of motion display similar semantic characteristics as regards the use of the two available stems (present and future), but none exhibit any such morphological peculiarities. The articulatory proximity of **i** and **j** has produced a similarly anomalous (but prototypical) imperative from *přijdou*, namely **přijď!** (for **přijdi*).

půjčit 'lend'

This verb, with its 3pl form *půjčí*, should produce **půjči*. In fact the imperative is doubly anomalous in that while it ignores the presence of **-j-** to produced a prototypical (short) imperative, it fails, in standard Czech, to carry out stage 3 (vowel shortening) hence imp. **půjč!**, but colloquial **puč!**.

pomoct 'help'

In its progressive (colloquial) conjugation, which has 3pl *pomůžou*, there is a regular imperative **pomož!** However, the preferred imperative, from the higher style 3pl *pomohou*, is the anomalous **pomoz!** Note that no other verb (apart from other compounds of *mocht* 'can', which, like other modal verbs has no imperative) has stem-final **-h**, but that support for the **-z** alternant selected comes from the verbs *dát*, *jíst* and *vědět*, descendants of multiply anomalous Slavonic athematic verbs. *Dát* is now regular (see algorithm).

jíst 'eat' and *vědět* 'know' (and compounds)

The (anomalous) 3pl forms of these two verbs are *jedí* and *vědí*. The respective imperatives are **jez!** and **věz!**. The latter has little currency ('know!'), but remains the base for the commoner *povědět* (imp. **pověz!** 'tell') and the very frequent *odpovědět* (imp. **odpověz!** 'answer!'). The **ď/z** alternation also occurs with the imperative of *vidět* 'see', namely **viz!**, but its use is restricted to the language of footnote (as in 'see p.49'). There is in any case little use for an imperative 'see', since willed use of the eyes is properly conveyed by 'look' — consistently more so in Czech than English. Positive imperatives (which seek to get an action performed) are typically associated in Czech with the perfective, yet the perfective *uvidět* produces no imperative at all. The compounds *závidět* 'envy' ('cast a covetous eye') and *nenávidět* 'hate' ('not bear to look at') produce imperatives along regular lines (**záviď!** and **nenáviď!**).

stát 'stand'

The 3pl form *stojí* ought to give regularly **stoj*, like other verbs ending in *-ojí* (*bát se* 'fear', 3pl *bojí se*, imp. **boj se!**). However, it represents an isolated reversal of the vowel-shortening rule in that here a short vowel lengthens, producing **stůj!**. There are analogues elsewhere in Czech where a monosyllable with **ů** alternates with longer forms with **o**, as in *můj-moje*. Compounds *postát*, *vystát* also show this lengthening.

skákat 'jump'

A small number of verbs reveal a mixed allegiance to the *e*- and *a*-conjugations: while they follow the *e*-conjugation in the personal forms, their imperatives are formed as if they were of the *a*-conjugation. Thus *skákat* has 3pl *skáčou*, but the imperative is not **skač*, but **skákej!** (as if from *skákať*, which is to be heard, though is not codified). Similarly *stonat* 'ail' has 3pl *stůňou*, but imperative **stonej!** (not **stoň*). *Plakat* 'weep', 3pl *pláčť* or *pláčou*, has both a regular imperative **plač!** and an alternative **plakej!**.⁴

zmizet 'disappear'

A few *i*-conjugation verbs are codified as having doublets in 3pl, as if from either conjugational variant, hence, here, *zmizejť/zmizť*. This should predict alternative imperatives, but the longer **zmizej* does not exist. The economy — in the use of just the short **zmiz!** — is appropriate for a verb of particularly peremptory meaning.

nechat 'leave'

A regular *a*-conjugation verb, i.e. 3pl *nechajť*. This would predict imperative **nechej!** In fact, the form is — in the writer's experience — largely confined to Moravian speakers, Bohemian usage preferring the short (but still prototypical) anomalous form **nech!**; the verb is again of particularly peremptory 'flavour', common in such phrases as *Nech toho!* 'Stop it!'.

⁴ For a complete and up-to-date account of current doublets in conjugation and/or imperatives of such verbs see *Mluvnice češtiny*, Vol. 2, pp.439 and 491-92.

THE VOCATIVE CASE AND ITS MORPHOLOGY IN CZECH AND SLOVAK¹

The original impulse to write on the Czech vocative came with the appearance in recent years of monographs dealing with the instrumental² and the locative.³ The vocative seemed ripe for similar treatment, not least of all because of a general intuition that the vocative has always been something of a Cinderella in discussions of the language, whether in the realm of syntax or morphology. In the event a monograph on the vocative has now also appeared, although I became aware of its existence about a year later.

Alena Svobodová's *Syntaktická charakteristika imperativu a vokativu v českých výzvných větách*⁴ consists of a fine analysis of the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the vocative, whether in terms of the morphologically distinct forms which the language possesses or of the numerous vocative-equivalent devices which equally mark or express the addressee. Her analysis culminates in a presentation of the role of vocative forms and their equivalents in functional sentence perspective, expressed largely in terms of the FSP theory worked out by Aleš Svoboda in his *Diatheme*⁵ and later essays.⁶

The present remarks will therefore not seek to plough the same furrow, but will

¹ Revised version of a paper originally published in Mojmír Grygar (ed.): *České studie: literatura, jazyk, kultura*, Amsterdam, Atlanta, 1990, pp.31-45.

² Oldřich Uličný: *Instrumentál v struktuře české věty: příspěvek k popisu a metodice výkladu pádového systému češtiny*, Prague, 1984.

³ Karel Kamiš: *Lokál a jeho problematika v současné spisovné češtině a slovenštině*, Prague, 1986.

⁴ Prague, 1987 (Spisy Pedagogické fakulty v Ostravě, vol.60). Hereafter *Imp. a vok.*

⁵ *Diatheme: a study in thematic elements, their contextual ties, thematic progressions and scene progressions based on a text from Ælfric*, Spisy Univerzity J.E. Purkyně v Brně, Filozofická fakulta, No.229, Brno, 1981.

⁶ E.g. 'České slovosledné pozice z pohledu aktuálního členění', *Slovo a slovesnost*, 45, 1984, pp.22-34, 88-103.

instead be restricted, more or less, to morphological aspects of the vocative in Czech — and, where relevant, Slovak, with some reference to other considerations.

There are a number of factors about the vocative which need to be clarified ahead of any discussion. These concern its status as a 'case'. One view takes it right out of the case system altogether on the grounds that it denotes solely the address of an appeal and is not integrated into the sentence by any kind of syntactic relations.⁷ Uličný's view,⁸ however, that it can be seen as 'expressing various relations to the whole sentence, at the very least the negation of the relation of "being syntactically dependent"' goes some way to overcoming the difficulty. On the other hand this particular statement is fraught with all the problems of negative definition and is tantalizingly vague as to what the 'various relations' might be. In a later discussion of cadences and especially semi-cadences Uličný also discusses the potential 'utterance-constitutivity' (*vypověďotvornost*) of the vocative.⁹ On the one hand this suggests (as the simultaneous allusion to interjections confirms) a degree of *syntactic* independence of vocative forms, but they do have counterparts — sententemes — at the level of Uličný's *semantic* sentence structure. Uličný further states:

The vocative form is the means by which the hortatory (appeal) nature of an utterance is outwardly expressed. The vocative implies a final cadence and so serves to segment the discourse; however, even with the semi-cadence the vocative clearly stands out as a grammatical device that signals the closedness of an utterance or may signal that the way is clear for the commencement of another utterance.¹⁰

While the foregoing are clearly functions and relations separate from (clause) syntax, they equally clearly have a bearing on the syntax of discourse, and it is on these grounds not inappropriate perhaps to refer to the vocative as a case, but applicable at the level of hypersyntax. In addition it clearly shares with the non-disputed cases the relation that exists between case-semes at the semantic level of sentence structure and a particular declensional formant.¹¹ It remains improper to speak of case morphemes as such in inflecting languages,

⁷ In, for example, J.I. Qvonje: *Über den Vokativ und die Vokativformen in den Balkansprachen und im europäischen Sprachareal*, Modern Greek and Balkan Studies, Supplementary Volume 1, Copenhagen, 1986; see review by P. Asenova in *Съпоставително езикознание*, 13, 1988, 1, pp.69-75.

⁸ Uličný, o.c., p.15.

⁹ Ibid., pp.32-34.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.37.

¹¹ Ibid., p.25.

such as Czech, since the relevant declensional formants also carry with them the senses of number and gender.¹²

At this point it is worth recalling that by no means all the Slavonic languages have distinct declensional formants part of whose function is to express the vocative, and where they are lacking, as Qvonje points out, the equivalent role is performed by intonation. This is precisely the essential division between Czech and Slovak in the domain of the vocative, though as a typological opposition it is not supported by any other obvious typological trends of the kind described in Qvonje.¹³

In Czech morphology (I shall return briefly to Slovak later) the representation of the vocative by inflections is itself incomplete. That is to say, there are numerous nominal paradigms which lack a distinctive nominal form. On the other hand, where distinctive vocative forms do exist, i.e. where there is a formant to act, with number and gender, as the expression of an address, we find a relatively low rate of case homonymy. Non-distinct vocatives are instances of case syncretism with the nominative.

This situation is undoubtedly part of the process described by Skalička¹⁴ as 'evolution towards simplicity' (*vývoj k jednoduchosti*). As he points out, simplicity is not necessarily a virtue, or is at least an ambiguous term. Quoting Russian *ВОЛНА* 'wool' and *ВОЛНА* 'wave' and Czech *vlna* 'wool; wave', he shows that the simplification represented by the economy of constant stress in Czech has given rise to homonymy; then 'homonymy (...) serves not to simplify the language, but complicates it' (*homonymie [...] neslouží jednoduchosti jazyka, nýbrž jej komplikuje*).¹⁵ Skalička's subsequent discussion concerns chiefly the development, and in some cases losses, of declensional types through history. Commenting on Trubetzkoy's views, he picks up the point that there are varying degrees of case homonymy in central and peripheral types (though without using these terms, which only gained currency later). On the one hand he notes the vastly mixed functions of *-i* (in fact */i/*), required at one point or another in quite disparate singular cases except the nominative and instrumental, hence Gsg *kosy* (of *kosa* [f.] 'scythe'), D/Lsg *meči* (of *meč* [m.] 'sword'), A/D/Lsg *duši* (of *duše* [f.] 'soul'), V/D/Lsg *oráči* (of *oráč* [m.] 'ploughman'), sometimes irrespective of gender, e.g. D/Lsg *meči* (m.), *moři* 'sea' (n.), *duši* (f.), while on the other hand he quotes instances where one paradigm does not distinguish between given cases, e.g. N/Asg *město*, Gsg *města* 'town'; Nsg *had*, A/Gsg *hada* 'snake'; but Nsg *žena*, Asg *ženu*,

¹² Ibid., p.25.

¹³ See Asenova (Note 7), p.74.

¹⁴ *Vývoj české deklinace*, Studie Pražského lingvistického kroužku, 4, Prague, 1941.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.8.

Gsg *ženy* 'woman'. In the plural the cases are better distinguished throughout than in the singular, as Trubetzkoy had pointed out on the basis of the type *znamení* 'sign', but, as Skalička argues, this is because gender is often the main distinguishing feature in the singular, while it is case that dominates in the plural, hence the great similarities we see across the paradigms in the plural, e.g. the datives *hadům*, *hradům*, *oráčům*, *mečům*, *Jiřím* 'George', *městům*, *mořím*, *znamením*, *hrdinům* 'hero', *ženám*, *duším*, *písním* 'song', *kostem* 'bone', not to mention *nám* 'we', *vám* 'you [pl.]', *jim* 'they', *těm* 'those', *krásným* 'beautiful', *cizím* 'alien', etc., and similarly for the locative plural, and for the instrumental plural at least in Common Czech.¹⁶

It will be noticed that Skalička had in this context very little to say about the vocative — even the reference to *oráči* is added almost as an afterthought in the relevant paragraph. In the section on declension in his *Typ češtiny*¹⁷ he does have a reference to it, but only in the context of the case homonymy of Nsg/Vsg/Asg in the neuter paradigms *znamení*, *město*, *města* (i.e. pl.), *pole* (sg.) and *pole* (pl.).¹⁸ This failure to pay attention to the vocative is probably connected with his adherence to the view that the vocative is not a true case. From the narrowly syntactic (intrasentential) point of view, this, as suggested earlier, is a quite widely held belief; vocative forms and their equivalents can then be simply viewed as deictic elements *sui generis*. However, in terms of the referential structure of an entire text and whether viewed as purely deictic or not (and many of Svobodová's 'evaluative' [*hodnotící*] types would come into this, e.g. *Ty darebáku!* 'You rascal!'), we may well wish to accept the vocative as a case, in those languages, including Czech, which generally have forms for it, since: a. it cannot normally be replaced by any other case form (cf. Uličný's negative definition earlier); and b. it has a signalling role as the marker of the opening of a new potential cross-referential sequence, even if limited to other expressions of the second person. In short, almost any occurrence of a noun in the primary vocative function, whether possessing a morphologically distinctive form or not, could become an instaurator *sui generis*.¹⁹

¹⁶ cf. *Vývoj*, p.15.

¹⁷ Prague, 1951. Republished in B.Palek (comp.): *Lingvistické čtanky III, Typologie*, sv.1, Prague, 1975, pp.55-108.

¹⁸ *Typ češtiny*, p.63.

¹⁹ On 'instaurators' and the process of 'instauration' see B. Palek and D. Short: *Vymezení instaurátorů a návrh klasifikace instaurátorů* (research report, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences), Prague, 1971. A more accessible work entailing the concept is Bohumil Palek: 'The treatment of reference in linguistic description' in J. Bogdan and I. Niiniuoto (eds): *Logic, Language and Probability*, Dordrecht, 1973, pp.237-44, esp. pp.241-44. Palek would probably decline to accept this view of occurrences of the vocative. In his terminology they would combine features of deictics and alterators.

Let us look now at the precise range and incidence of vocative markers in contemporary Czech, duly noting also any instances of the 'simplification' of the system brought about by case homonymy and/or syncretism.

In the singular the available markers are:²⁰

- e: m. *hade, hrade* (< *had* 'snake', *hrad* 'castle'); f. *duše* ('soul'; = Nsg); m. *správce* ('caretaker'; = Nsg); n. *moře* ('sea'; = Nsg)
- e + some other modification to the stem:
 - a. *otče, človeče, Petře* (< *otec* 'father' [also all other words ending in -ec], *člověk* 'man, person', *Petr* 'Peter' [also all other masc. nouns ending in -Cr], in which the stem-final consonant is unique to the vocative);
 - b. *vole, chlebe* (< *vůl* 'ox', *chléb* 'bread', in which the root vowel shortening is consistent with all the oblique cases and all plural cases of the items affected);
 - c. *Bože, větre* (< *Bůh* 'god', *vítr* 'wind', combining both stem-final consonant change unique to the vocative and root vowel shortening as in the rest of the paradigm);
 - d. *pane* (< *pán* 'gentleman', with root-vowel shortening unique to the vocative and coinciding with that of *pan* 'Sir, Mr');
- o: f. *ženo*; m. *hrdino, lingvisto* (< *žena* 'woman', *hrdina*, 'hero', *lingvista* 'linguist'); n. *město* ('town'; = Nsg)
- u: m. *synu, žáku* (< *syn* 'son', *žák* 'pupil')
- i: m. *muži* (< *muž* 'man'; = D/Lsg); f. *kosti* (< *kost*; = G/D/Lsg), *písní* (< *píseň* 'song'; = D/Lsg)
- í: m. *Jiří* ('George'; = Nsg), n. *nádraží* ('station'; = N/G/D/A/Lsg [and N/A/Gpl])
paní ('lady, woman, Mrs'; = N/G/D/A/I/Lsg [and N/A/Gpl])
- ě/-e: n. *dítě* ('child'; = N/Asg), *doupě* ('den, lair'; = N/Asg); m.
kníže ('prince'; = Nsg); f. *židle* ('chair'; = N/Gsg [and N/V/Apl])

In the plural it applies universally that there is no distinctive form, since V = N. The endings available to N/Vpl are:

- i/: *hrady, ženy, lidičky*
- i/: some modification to the stem: *hadi* (stem-final consonant change unique to N/Vpl; applies to masculine animate nouns with stem-final dental): *kluci* (stem-final

²⁰ The key-words selected in the following two tables are not necessarily those which are customarily given in descriptive grammars of Czech, indeed the former outnumber the latter. The present selection is motivated in part by intuition as to their relative familiarity as lexical items to the foreign user of Czech and in part as representatives of sub-classes not normally accorded separate attention.

consonant change common to N/V/Lpl; applies to masculine animate nouns with stem-final velar); *kosti* (stem-final consonant change shared with almost all cases, singular and plural, of feminine i-declension nouns where an *-i* appears in the ending, i.e. not D/L/Ipl. and where Nsg ends in *-t* or *-d*)

- ové: *pánové, synové, správcové, hrdinové*
- é: *učitelé, lingvisté, občané* (+ a small number of isolates)
- é + internal flection: *přátelé* (an isolate with this form of the stem consistent throughout the plural [sg. = *přítel*-])
- e/-e: *moře, duše, písně, koně, rodiče*
- a: *města, kuřata, knížata, doupata*
- í: *paní, nádraží, Jiří*.

The V = N equivalence in the singular applies to all neuters (*more, město, dítě, kuře, doupě, nádraží*), two feminine types (*duše, paní*, but NOT *žena, píseň* and *kost*), and three masculine types (*kníže, správce, Jiří*). In the neuters this is not very surprising in that most of the lexical items involved are inanimate, therefore unlikely, outside the realm of the ode, to be the subject of an address or appeal. The rest (*dítě, děvče, kuře*) are, though animate, marked semantically as 'the young of an animal', the denotates of which again, while possibly more readily addressable, are nevertheless, with few exceptions, unlikely to be the objects of appeals to act dynamically. The fact that the group include sundry 'young of the human animal' — the neutral *dítě* 'child' (an oddity in that its plural is feminine), *batole* 'toddler', *dvojče* 'twin', *trojče* 'triplet' (etc.), the word *páže* 'page' (occasionally also masculine by natural gender assignment [?]) and as part of the class that contains such other feudal terms as *kníže* 'prince' and *hrabě* 'count'), and the common *děvče* 'lass', formally the 'young' of *dívka* 'girl' — may be assumed to be merely an extension of the 'young living creature' principle. The main feature concerning the neuters remains, however, that the vast majority denote 'things' and are therefore peripheral to patterns of address.

In the feminines we are again in the realm of the peripheral to the extent that of the *duše* type the vast majority denotes inanimates (but not the handful in *-yně* and the group of animates in *-ice*). *Paní* 'lady, Mrs.' is an accident of history and the sole survivor of its original class, i.e. a quintessentially peripheral item despite its statistical frequency.

In the masculines there is once more no doubting the peripheral status of the *kníže* and *Jiří* types, either on the grounds, for *kníže*, of general semantics and register restriction (feudal history or fairy tales), or simply minimal representation of the class at all in the modern language (*Jiří*). The peripherality of *kníže* is further reinforced by the anomaly of its retaining in the plural the neuter gender that dominates its morphological class. It is instructive that the statistically more widely represented type *správce* has V = N only in the (conservative) standard language, while in Common Czech, where all its other cases match, for example, *otec*, it too acquires a distinctive vocative in the form *správče*. This then adds

to the sporadic instances of internal flection occurring elsewhere in the language²¹ and noted, as regards the vocative, in the tables above.

To summarize: if a noun-type has no distinctive formant to denote the vocative, it will either be morphologically or lexically peripheral, or it will denote an inanimate, or be grammatically neuter. On the other hand, if a noun or noun-type is morphologically peripheral it does not automatically follow that there will no distinctive vocative form. Thus most of the masculine or feminine paradigms deemed peripheral (non-central) in the modern language do evince distinct vocative forms, hence *hrdino*, *lingvisto*, *písni*. The tendency for the masculine animate *správce* type to move, at least in one version of the language, to a more central type (including a new nominative *správce*) and so to (re-)acquire a distinct vocative has already been noted.

Equally, lexical peripherality in itself does not qualify a noun to dispense with a distinctive vocative.

So far we have discussed the extent to which the different Modern Czech paradigms contain $V = N$ or $V \neq N$.

Given the extent to which the history of sound changes and changes brought about by analogy has produced a wide range of types of case homonymy and syncretism, it is perhaps worthwhile to note the extent to which this occurs between the vocative and other non-nominative cases. In the interests of completeness of the observation, and at the risk of being accused of stating the obvious, I begin with the neuters. Here it invariably holds that $A = N$, therefore since $V = N$, as we have seen, then V also $= A$, singular or plural. There is, however, no other instance of case homonymy involving neuters, except the *nádraží* class, which, as is well known, has lost all the morphology of case except in those inflections which include a consonant,²² and the $V/A/Gsg$ homonymy of *pole*.

Similarly with (peripheral) *paní*, $V =$ all other singular cases and Npl , Vpl , Apl and Gpl , i.e., again, cases whose desinences do not involve consonants.

Of the other feminines:

ženo coincides with NO other cases

duše coincides with Gsg (and $N/V/Apl$)

²¹ Cf. Skalička, *Typ češtiny*, p.93.

²² This fact can make for a variety of difficulties in description and interpretation of the data, as Skalička points out: does Gen pl. *nádraží* have a zero ending, like *měst*, *vajec*, or *-í*, like *polí*; cf. *Typ češtiny*, p.63.

kosti coincides with G/D/Lsg (and N/V/Apl)

písní coincides with D/Lsg

Among the masculines:

<i>hade</i>	}	coincide with NO other cases
<i>hrade</i>		
<i>otče</i>		
<i>správče</i>		
<i>hrdino</i>		
<i>kníže</i>		

synu (strictly) coincides with NO other case

žáku (potentially) coincides with D/Lsg

Jiří coincides with NO other sg. case (but with N/V/Apl)

správce coincides with A/Gsg (and Apl)

while

muži coincides with D/Lsg (and N/V/Ipl).

It follows from this that the vocative is, morphologically speaking, by no means in jeopardy as a distinctive form, since although all members of the vocative repertoire can have other case functions, these are largely in other paradigms. The main exceptions are the coincidences with the dative and locative, a product of historical sound changes and analogy among the 'soft' declensions, which all evince above-average case homonymy anyway, and of a redistribution of endings within the true vocative repertoire (*žáku* and other velar stems in the masculines, with *-u* from the old *u*-declension) introduced essentially to avoid further instances of internal flection (**žáčě*).²³

To express matters once more in terms of periphery and centre, classes where there is homonymy between the vocative and other non-nominative cases are further away from the centre. On the other hand, absence of such homonymy is not of itself a denial of peripherality; plenty of peripheral types still evince no such homonymy: *hrdino*, *Jiří*.

This is perhaps the point at which it should be mentioned that distinctive vocative morphology is confined to the nouns of Czech — with the limitations by homonymy already noted. Although there is general complete morphology of case and number in the adjectives in the plural, and of case, number and gender in their singular forms, the expression of them

²³ The survival and (re-)distribution of the masculine (historical) *u*-stem ending *-u*, in contrast to the now generally preferred (historical) *o*-stem ending *-e*, is fully discussed, as is the plural ending *-ové* (below), by Laura Janda in the context of the fate of all *u*-declension endings in *Back from the Brink*, LINCOM Studies in Slavic Linguistics, Munich, 1996.

is always secondary, by agreement with a given noun. And no distinctive vocative forms have evolved in the adjective. This could be described as the avoidance of a redundant secondary expression of the signal already carried by a noun in the vocative. The fact that the vocative alone, of all the cases (always accepting that it can be fairly described as one), is adequately expressed once and need not be reiterated even in circumstances that would 'normally' require it, is reinforced by the increase in the incidence of masculine appositional constructions of the type *pane Novák* 'Mr Novák', *vojíne Pavlíček* 'Private Pavlíček' (?).²⁴ On the other hand no similar event occurs in the feminine, nor even in such combinations involving masculine a-stems as *soudruhu předsedo* 'Comrade Chairman', suggesting that the potential for non-agreement is still largely limited to proper names. Another explanation may lie in Svobodová's suggestion (admittedly made in a different context) that this could be a product of a reduction in the component of address in the vocative phrase, and a growth in the purely phatic component.²⁵ In turn this would hardly account for other instances of the penetration of the nominative into the vocative, such as in Svobodová's examples *Tak neblázněte, Pěnička* 'Don't be crazy, Pěnička' and *Jen podej štěstí ruku, Josef* 'Just count your blessings, Joseph', which she interprets as one type of 'evaluative' vocative and a product of the 'communicative situation at the moment of utterance'.²⁶

References to the penetration of the nominative into the vocative function among feminines are few and far between. Perhaps the most comprehensive is in Trávníček's grammar, where a nominative form, *holka* 'girl', is incorporated as a variant in the relevant declensional table.²⁷ The subsequent gloss on the issue is at best ambiguous, apparently suggesting that *holka*, *kmotra* 'godmother' and *tetka* 'auntie' are the forms for these words in popular and colloquial speech, and likewise *paní kmotra* and *Anna*, 'rarely' also *Anno*, in the standard language. My own experience is restricted to *holka* and *tetka*, which, in the circumstances in which they were used, were very strongly phatic, and very weakly concerned with address. Expressions involving *kmotra* are probably no longer alive and

²⁴ It is not easy for the outsider to vouch for the extent of such as this second example, which is from the military sphere. However, non-agreement among nouns in apposition in military parlance is a feature occasionally mentioned, and even outside the vocative, as witness such distortions as the formulaic *Vojínu Pavlíček Štěpánovi se uděluje pochvala* (from a private communication, but see also Peňáz, 'Poznámky k češtině ve vojenském prostředí', *Naše řeč*, 70, 1987, pp.131-40, esp. p.137, footnote 51).

²⁵ See Svobodová, *Imp. a vok.*, p.92.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.81-82.

²⁷ František Trávníček: *Mluvnice spisovné češtiny*, Prague, 1951, p.501. The dictionary *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (Prague, 1971), gives *holka* as the only vocative of this word. In practice, it can be observed to be used solely in the phatic function, rather like the true formal (if in its way unique) vocative form *člověče* 'man', used chiefly among males.

therefore not amenable to testing. It would seem likely, however, that these too were largely phatic. The only other widely quoted nominative in the vocative, truly vocative, function is the Old Czech instance of *liška* in *liška, co to neseš*, from *O liščě a čbánu*, a text otherwise full of formally distinct vocative occurrences.

One other instance I have come across is a cry that will be familiar to many who knew the canteen at Prague's Faculty of Arts in the Sixties and Seventies. The cry was: *Ta slečna, ten párek!*, and would be used to announce that a previously ordered frankfurter was ready. The features of the 'communicative situation' which led to the switch from vocative to nominative in *slečna* include anonymity of the addressee (who surely *is* being addressed, even summoned, and not merely being named), and the fact that she was no longer visible from the counter. The need to identify the one individual labelled *slečna*, a common noun, by resort to the demonstrative pronoun *ta*, would seem to be a device which militates strongly against the use of the true vocative. At all events, this type of occurrence is far removed from the only other nominative discussed in the vocative context, namely Trávníček's 'emotive nominative'.²⁸

The reverse penetration, of the vocative into the nominative, seems to be restricted to such instances as the masculine proper names and kinship terms *Jurko, Jano, stryko, dedo* etc. of Eastern Moravia and Slovakia,²⁹ and the now defunct secondary nominatives of the type *choti, smrti* to be found in Old Czech.³⁰

The situation of the vocative in Slovak is quite different from that in Czech. The normal view is that the case system has six members, unlike Czech's seven, and that the vocative is absent, at least from the standard language. Within it, however, there is a small number of survivals, including *bratku* 'brother', *kmotre* 'godfather', *otče* 'father', *synku* 'son', *priateľu* 'friend' (but only *priateľ* if accompanied by a qualifying adjective), *Bože* 'God', *Hospodine* 'Lord', *Kriste* 'Christ', *Ježišu* 'Jesus', i.e. loosely kinship and religious terms.³¹ One problem with Slovak is, however, that the standard is still very fluid and there

²⁸ Ibid., II, p.1229.

²⁹ cf. for example, Václav Vážný: *Historická mluvnice češtiny 2, Tvarosloví 1*, 2nd edn, Prague, 1963, p.13; Ján Stanislav: *Dejiny slovenského jazyka, II, Tvaroslovie*, 2nd rev. edn, Bratislava 1967, p.26.

³⁰ Vážný, *Historická mluvnice*, p.75.

³¹ J. Oravec, E. Bajzíkova, J. Furdík: *Súčasný slovenský spisovný jazyk: Morfológia*, Bratislava, 1984, p.54. Interestingly, *bratku* is presumably so completely reduced to a phatic item that this former vocative form is all that survives of the word. It is its own entry-word in *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka*, Bratislava, 1989, p.52, which, however, in the gloss that precedes the definition, also indicates its plural, *bratkovia*, a standard Voc = Nom type.

is much scope for interference both from dialect speakers (in some of the dialects vocative forms survive more widely, or even systematically) and from Czech. Only in the last two decades has the vocative been left quite out of account in descriptions of the language, apart from the necessary gloss on the recognized survivals just mentioned, while before then the most authoritative work provided a place for vocative forms in the paradigms of all nominal classes, including pronouns, adjectives and numerals.³² Interestingly those slots were only filled when the representative noun denoted an animate being, and all the non-noun paradigms contained a blank, with the exception of *ty!* and *vy!*, the second person pronouns. More surprisingly still, the masculine animate example, *chlap*, lists *V chlape*, despite the fact that the gloss on this type, and the entire discussion of the vocative generally make it plain that this is a peripheral feature, not the standard form.³³

It seems unlikely that there will be any further attrition in the area of the vocative in Czech; it is too well grounded in the major paradigms and is showing great resilience even in some of the peripheral types. Equally, whatever the evidence of literature, urban speech, and the hybridized version of Slovak to be heard among young people, in the army and in various sub-cultures, it is unlikely that the vocative will reassert itself to become again part of standard Slovak. The present remarks have remained more or less within the framework of the two standard languages, with only passing reference to deviations. Quite a different picture could be expected to emerge from a close, more sociolinguistic study of the languages in their various spoken guises.

³² E. Pauliny, J. Ružička, J. Štolc: *Slovenská gramatika*, 5th rev. edn, Bratislava, 1968, pp.173-231.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.171-73.

THE GRAMMATICAL STATUS OF *oba* IN CZECH (AND SLOVAK)¹

The Indo-European languages generally have available a word, or set of words, loosely equivalent to English *both*. Czech *oba/obě*, Slovak *obaja/oba/obe*, Spanish *ambos/ambas*, Romanian *amîndoi/amîndouă*, German *beide*, Bengali *ubhay*, all have a special status as one of the members of a pair of expressions used to convey the notion of 'two'. The other member is the respective form of the cardinal numeral 'two'.

The Czech system for the expression of the quantity two consists of the numeral *dva* (masc.), *dvě* (fem. and neut.), the expression *oba/obě* (with matching gender distribution), and certain other forms (*dvoje/oboje*, *dvojí/obojí*) which it is proposed here to ignore, since they are merely formal variants of *dva/oba* used either with special nominal sub-categories, or in the more specialized sense of 'two/both kinds of'. What we have here are some of the remnants of the earlier tripartite number system consisting of singular, dual and plural. There are other morphological remnants of the dual still surviving in Czech,² rather fewer in Slovak,³ but they are properly described as anomalous plural forms. The Czech or Slovak

¹ Reprinted with minor revisions from *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 61, 1983, 2, pp.161-68.

² These are certain case forms of the plural of the words for parts of the body — nominative/accusative and instrumental of *oči* 'eyes' and *uši* 'ears'; nominative/accusative, genitive/locative and instrumental of *ruce* 'arms, legs'; genitive/locative and instrumental of *nohy* 'legs, feet'; nominative/accusative and genitive/locative of *prsa* 'chest' (from 'breasts'); and rarely more than the locative of *ramena* 'shoulders' and *kolena* 'knees'. Until fairly recently, some forms of *rti* 'lips' and *křídla* 'wings' also retained traces of the dual. There is also a dual remnant in the special form *stě* 'hundreds' in the numeral *dvě stě* 'two hundred'. The neuter plural (*plurale tantum*) *záda* 'back' was probably once a masculine dual.

³ Slovak was codified at a much later date than Czech, by which time a greater number of dual remnants had been lost and replaced by plural forms. The survivors in Slovak are the anomalous nominative plurals *oči* 'eyes' and *uši* 'ears' and the instrumental case of *dva*, *oba* (*dvoma*, *oboma*) and, by analogy, one of the alternative instrumental forms of *tri* (*troma*, alongside *tromi*) 'three'. The present notes are concerned primarily with the situation in Czech, which will be the language of the examples quoted. Nevertheless the same general argument may be held to apply to Slovak, not out of any desire to see it as a mere appendage

in the street, and especially the Czech or Slovak in the school, is, however, more aware of the concept of duality than is, for instance, his English counterpart. The standard grammars will have taught him about *tvary dvojné* or *duálové*, which an introduction to number in English does not entail. On the other hand English does have a small inventory of items relating to duality (e.g. *either*) in addition to *both*, the expression which is of interest to us here.

From the foregoing it should be apparent that I have avoided giving any grammatical label to *oba/both*, etc. In most nineteenth and twentieth-century Czech and Slovak grammars, *oba* is described as a numeral. Thus for example:

Václav Zikmund in *Skladba jazyka českého* (Litomyšl, Prague, 1863) explicitly includes *oba* among the cardinal numerals;⁴

an anonymous school textbook, *Čtvrtá mluvnice česká spolu s naukou o skládání listů a písemností jednacích pro obecné školy* (Prague, 1882), plainly implies that *oba* is a cardinal numeral;⁵

Jan Gebauer, in an early version of his *Krátká mluvnice česká* (3rd rev. ed., Prague, 1902), while discussing numeral morphology, is almost as explicit on the subject;⁶

Bohuslav Havránek and Alois Jedlička's standard post-war *Česká mluvnice* refers to 'the numerals *dva, oba*', but only in the section on morphology.⁷

of Czech, which would be ill-conceived for a variety of reasons, but because of the high degree of similarity of presentation of *dva* and *oba* in grammars of the two languages.

⁴ 'Cardinal numerals: *jeden, dva, tři, čtyři, oba, obadva...*', p.331, §174, section 1.

⁵ '*dva* and *oba* are declined...', p.51, §98, section 2 (on the declension of 'cardinal numerals').

⁶ 'The cardinal numerals *dva, dvě, dvě* and likewise *oba, -ě, -ě...*', p.70, §153. The wording is unchanged in later mutations of Gebauer's textbook, such as his own slightly larger *Mluvnice česká pro školy střední a ústavy učitel'ské*, 4th edn, Prague, 1905, p.95, §166; Václav Ertl's *Gebauerova mluvnice česká pro školy střední ústavy učitel'ské*, Vol. I, 6th edn, Prague, 1918, p.186, §361; František Trávníček's *Gebauerova příruční mluvnice jazyka českého pro učitele a studium soukromé*, 5th edn, Prague, 1936, p.150, §173; or indeed the interwar Slovak grammars that owe an explicit debt to Gebauer, such as Anton Macht's *Sústavná mluvnica slovenská pre učiteľov a súkromné štúdium*, Třebachovice pod Orebom, 1938, p.115, §195; that the last-named work appeared during the First Czechoslovak Republic, which maintained a policy of a common Czechoslovak language in two local variants, that it was published by a major school-book publisher in East Bohemia and that it was printed in Prague make the great similarity to Czech textbooks of the period less than surprising.

⁷ 1st edn, Prague, 1960, p.186, §114, section 2; 4th rev. edn, Prague, 1981, p.217, §114, section 3. Both versions also link *dvojí* and *obojí* without further discriminatory comment, p.186 and p.216 respectively.

Other works avoid giving *oba* any label, but could be viewed as including it implicitly under the cardinal numerals. Thus:

- F.J.Ř.Polehradský, *Mluvnice s pravopisem pro českou mládež* (Prague, 1849), under 'Cardinal numerals, answering the question *kolik?* (How many?)', includes a reference to *oba* under *dva*, but explicitly only on morphological grounds (pp.40, 42);
- František Trávníček, *Stručná mluvnice česká* (Prague, 1941), has much to say on the semantics of all sub-types of numerals, but includes *oba* merely with *dva* in the section on anomalous numeral declensions (p.86, §79);⁸
- the Slovak Samuel Czambel, *Rukoväť spisovnej reči slovenskej*, 3rd edn (Turčiansky svätý Martin, 1919), makes no mention of *oba* in his discussion of cardinal numerals (p.149), while under the declension of *dva* we read: '*oba, obidva (obaja, obidvaja), obe, obidve* are declined in exactly the same way' (§137, p.83);
- Bohuslav Havránek and Alois Jedlička, *Stručná mluvnice česká pro střední školy* (Prague, 1950) is equally vague (pp.67-69);
- Eugen Pauliny, Jozef Ružička and Jozef Štolc, *Slovenská gramatika*, 5th rev. edn (Bratislava, 1968), explain the functional difference between *dva* and *oba*, calling both sets merely 'numerals' within the section on cardinal numerals (pp.229-30, §298);
- Eugen Pauliny, *Slovenská gramatika* (Bratislava, 1981), refers to *oba* etc. as 'forms', explains their cross-referential function, but nevertheless includes them in the section on cardinal numerals (p.140, §3.412);
- Yet others make no mention of *oba* at all, such as Eugen Pauliny's *Krátká gramatika slovenská* (Bratislava, 1965, pp.90ff.).

This treatment of *oba* as a numeral — apparently solely on the grounds that it expresses, in its undeniable way, an identifiable quantity — is quite unsatisfactory. Another problem is that, despite a large measure of similarity between Czech (and Slovak) and English in their usage, there are nevertheless certain differences which merit investigation and description.

To deal first with the terminological problem, let us take a trivial example and develop it:

/1/ *Byl jednou jeden král a ten měl syna. Poslal ho do světa hledat štěstí.*

/1a/ There was once a king and he had a son. He sent him out into the world to seek his fortune.

There is no question as to the interpretation of *ho* as a pronoun cross-referring

⁸ Trávníček's much more comprehensive, two-volume *Mluvnice spisovné češtiny*, 3rd edn, Prague, 1951, is no more explicit on this subject; see Vol.1, p.562, §396.

unambiguously to the king's son in the previous sentence.⁹

/2/ *Byl jednou jeden král a ten měl tři (pět) syny (synů). Všechny (všechny tři/všech pět) poslal do světa hledat štěstí.*

/2a/ There was once a king and he had three (five) sons. He sent them all (all three/all five) out into the world to seek their fortune.

According to all the standard Czech grammars (and their Slovak counterparts, for there is little but morphological differences between the two languages in these areas generally), there is no doubt that *všechny* contains a clear aggregative reference back to the sons, irrespective of their number. The difference between the second sentence of /2/ and

/3/ *Poslal je (= them) do světa hledat štěstí.*

is merely one of emphasis. The Czech grammars describe *všechny* as a pronoun.

The problem begins, however with,

/4/ *Byl jednou jeden král and ten měl dva syny. Oba (obadva) poslal do světa hledat štěstí.*

Here the grammars traditionally no longer talked in terms of pronouns, despite the fact that *oba* functions in a manner exactly analogous to *ho* and *všechny* in /1/ and /2/. Why? The answer presumably lies in statements like: 'The cardinal numbers simply express quantity in answer to the question "How many?"', which are typically made in the context of the cardinal numbers including *oba*. Yet quantity may be definite and indefinite, and indefinite quantitative answers are perfectly natural in response to 'how many?':

/5/ *Kolik lidí bylo na schůzi? Hodně. (or: Málo, etc.)*

/5a/ How many people were at the meeting? Lots. (Only a few, etc.)

To the objection that we could scarcely expect the answer *oba* to the question in /5/ and that discussion of indefinite quantification is irrelevant, let us consider the situation where the person asking and the person asked both know that the meeting was to have been attended by fifty-seven people. If the answer to /5/ is *všichni* 'all', the word acquires a quite definite value, namely '57'. Yet no one would doubt its status as a pronoun and interpret it

⁹ Even disregarding the formulaic, fairy-tale pattern of the example, the operation of functional sentence perspective in Czech disallows any claim for the ambiguity of /1/ with an alternative referential structure: *Byl jednou jeden král₁ a ten₁ měl syna₂. Poslal₂ ho₁ do světa hledat štěstí.*

as some special kind of numeral. Similarly, then, if from the situation both questioner and respondent know that the number of people, days, hands or whatever that is embraced by the question 'How many?' cannot be more than two, one possible answer might again be a form of *všechny*, except that for this case a special device is available, namely *oba*. Thus just as *všechny* may express a known and exhaustive number equivalent, say, to fifty-seven, so *oba* expresses a known and exhaustive number of two. Thus the 'totality and completeness' referred to by Havránek and Jedlička in connection with the pronoun *všechen*, *všichni*, etc.¹⁰ applies equally to *oba*. It is worth noting that these authors are among those who, unlike Zikmund, Trávníček, Poldauf,¹¹ Pauliny and others, do not describe *oba* explicitly as a numeral; nor do they define it in any other way, merely introducing it, after *dva*, under morphology. Such caution is no more satisfactory than Pauliny's definition: 'The numerals *obaja*, *oba*, *obe* and *obidvaja*, *obidva*, *obidve* express the simple sum of two individuals as a homogeneous indivisible whole.'¹² Assuming that there is indeed little difference in usage between Czech and Slovak, it can only be that Pauliny is ignoring completely the cross-referential function, or 'exhausting' function of *oba*. Moreover his definition is much more suited to the nominal expression *dvojica*, and could be expanded to take in *trojica*, etc.

Another reason why it seems inappropriate to treat *oba* as a cardinal (*základní*) numeral is that true cardinal numbers are used, typically in mathematics, as names for themselves; *dva* + *tři* = *pět* surprises no one, but *oba* + *tři* = *pět* is an impossibility and cannot be rewritten in digital notation. In other words, in addition to conveying the exact quantity of two, *oba* necessarily contains another element — its function as an *indicator* in hyper-syntactic relations.¹³

The situation in general statements is also interesting. We may say:

/6/ *Všichni lví samci mají hustou hřívu.*

/6a/ All male lions have a thick mane.

where *všichni* is definitely an indefinite numeral and it is impossible to say how many lions there are. In this function *všichni* may stand for any numeral, including zero, as in the referentially empty expression *všichni obyvatelé měsíce* (all the inhabitants of the moon). On

¹⁰ B. Havránek and A. Jedlička, *Česká mluvnice*, 4th revised edn, Prague, 1981, p.201.

¹¹ Ivan Poldauf and Karel Šprunk: *Čeština jazyk cizí*, Prague, 1968, 'the numerals *dva* and *oba*', p.126.

¹² Pauliny, Ružička and Štolc: *Slovenská gramatika*, 5th edn, Bratislava, 1968, p.230.

¹³ The terminology of hyper-syntax is taken from B.Palek: *Cross-Reference: A Study from Hyper-Syntax*, Prague, 1968.

the other hand, where it does have a cross-referential function, as in /2/, in which it functions in a way analogous to *oba* in /4/, *všichni* is a pronoun which, in addition to its pronominal (indicating) function, also expresses number, but inexactly. The relevant number can be made exact, deduced, from the context. The same goes for *oba*, except that the 'allness' of it is already stated as equal to exactly two by the word itself. In Czech it is not of course unusual for the exact quantity of *všichni* to be carried along with it without the need for deduction from the previous context, as in the versions of /2/ using *všechny tři* or *všech pět*. These expressions are in effect compound pronouns retaining the exact expression of quantity in the same manner as *oba*.

There are of course general statements in which *všichni* can also occur, inexact though it be, and yet be made exact, namely in the case of closed sets. I may not know, but there are certainly those who do know, how many people are meant by *všichni členové amerického senátu* 'all the members of the American senate' if they figure in some general statement. My addressee may not know how many people are involved if I tell him *všichni členové mé rodiny jsou blondýni* 'all the members of my family are blond', but I can tell him if he asks. What differs between the last two examples and /6/ is the degree of generality. But in

/7/ *Všechny údy opice jsou uzpůsobeny k životu ve stromech.*

/7a/ All the limbs of the monkey are adapted to life in the trees.

we have a sentence that is at least as general as /6/, yet we — anyone — can say how many *všechny* represents.

The same kind of situation applies equally where all equals two. We would not normally say:

/8/ *Všichni moji rodiče se narodili na Moravě.*

/8a/ All my parents were born in Moravia.

in view of the availability of the special device *oba* — both.

The key difference between the functions of *všichni* as an indefinite numeral and *všichni* and *oba* as pronouns with number expressed is really only in the spheres in which they are used. In the first case it is the sphere of open systems, and in the second that of closed systems. The use of *všichni/oba* in closed systems is not governed merely by their hyper-syntactic, cross-referential function, but is conditioned by the definiteness entailed in such systems, and as such offers comparison with one use of the definite article in English.

The primary use of the English definite article is the expression of identity of two denotates, i.e. in the second occurrence it indicates that the same object is meant as in the

first (John saw a book. ... He picked *the* book up). Very commonly, however, we find the definite article with the first occurrence of a denotate as in:

/9/ He came home, unlocked *the* door, switched on *the* light, sat down by *the* fire ...

This is not to say that there is only one possible door, light, fire, etc.; these notions are simply and regularly understood as conveying the one such and such object that is to be found in each like situation. The room (house, town, etc.) constitutes a kind of closed system, hence the typical reference to window, table, door, etc. with the definite article. Even where there is more than one door, we would say 'one of *the* doors', since all the relevant doors are likewise determined by the closed system that is the room. And when there are two items of a kind within such a closed system we would of course express the quantity and the definiteness by the available device *both*, as in:

/10/ He went into the study, closed both windows and began typing.

/10a/ *Šel do pracovny, zavřel obě okna a začal psát na stroji.*

Before concluding this section mention must be made of the numeral 'one', which so far has been ignored.¹⁴ The king's five sons and the limbs of the monkey of the earlier examples were closed systems established randomly and generally respectively. But had we taken the example:

/11/ *Ocas opice je uzpůsoben k životu ve stromech.*

/11a/ The tail of the monkey is adapted to life in the trees.

we do not ask 'how many (tails)?'; the number is known and is not given further consideration. This is a case of a generally determined closed system of one member. But if we say:

/12/ *Král poslal syna do světa hledat štěstí.*

/12a/ The king sent his son out into the world to seek his fortune.

there is no absolute guarantee that this was an only son (although the English wording may suggest this is the case; the Czech version is much less certain). But if the king did have just one son and this is to be stated unequivocally, we would have to say:

/13/ *Král poslal (svého) jediného syna ...*

¹⁴ For a detailed analysis of the expression of the quantity one in Czech see M. Dokulil: 'O vyjadřování jednosti a jedinečnosti v českém jazyce', *Naše řeč*, 53, 1970, 1, pp.1-15.

/13a/ The king sent his only son ...

and all further discussion of the number of sons is precluded. The system is closed, but has been determined randomly. With the quantity two, /12/ and /13/ would give:

/14/ *Král poslal dva syny do světa*

and

/15/ *Král poslal oba syny do světa ...*

Thus we may bring into consideration the expression *jediný*. Its status is not so firmly fixed as that of *oba*, but it does perform a closely analogous function.¹⁵

It is now possible to set up two systems in Czech (or, *mutatis mutandis*, Slovak) for the expression of quantity. They are linked by a set of cross correspondences, but they cannot be confused, which means notably that *oba* cannot now be dismissed as merely a numeral.

Indeterminate

<i>jeden</i>	<i>dva</i>	<i>tři</i>	<i>čtyři</i>	<i>pět</i>	<i>všichni</i>
					(non-determinable)

Determinate

<i>jediný</i>	<i>oba(dva)</i>	<i>všichni tři</i>	<i>všichni čtyři</i>	<i>všech pět</i>	<i>všichni</i>
					(determinable)

It is not intended to discuss here the circumstances under which the numerals *tři* and above occur in their determinate uses with and without the support of *všichni*; that would entail a much broader analysis of determinacy in Czech, a language which differs very greatly from English in this area, most obviously in its lack of the definite article.¹⁶

¹⁵ The difference in the linguistic status of *jediný* as opposed to the other expressions discussed here is partly manifest in its having evolved as an adjective, rather than as a numeral or pronoun, in its morphological characteristics. In combination with a noun it can stand, like other adjective-noun combinations, in contexts which might variously require translation into English with the aid of indicators or alterators (see again Palek, *Cross-Reference*). I am not concerned here with its use as an alterator, as in sentences like *Je jediné místo na světě, kde bych chtěl...* 'There is only one place in the world where I would like to...', in which for a greater number *dvě* or other cardinals or the reinforced *jediná dvě*, etc. could be used, but never *obě*.

¹⁶ I refer of course to literary or standard Czech or Slovak. The high incidence of the demonstrative pronoun *ten, ta, to* with nouns or noun phrases in Common Czech (*obecná čeština*), although partially explicable in terms of German influence, may indicate a growing need for a definite article in Czech. This matter of contrasting uses of demonstratives is not

The English equivalents to the foregoing are:

Indeterminate

one *two* *three* *four* *five* *all*

Determinate

the only *both* *all three* *all four* *all five* *all*

So much for the simple inventory of devices in Czech and English for the expression of quantity in simple situations. The indeterminate system serves alterational functions and the determinate system indicational functions of various kinds.

It was hinted above that there is not in fact a one-to-one relationship between the Czech and English inventories. This is largely due to the existence in English of a third system which has no direct counterpart in Czech, namely *the one*, *the two*, *the three*, etc. Generally speaking, they would translate into Czech as *jediný*, *oba*, *tři*, etc., the numerals *tři* and above being indeterminate (indicational) contexts. What is interesting is that the numeral *dva* is not usually used in Czech in a comparable determinate context,¹⁷ although like all the numerals it may combine in emphatic determinate contexts with the demonstrative pronoun, hence *ti dva* analogously with *ti tři*, phrases more closely equivalent to 'the two/three of them'.

Czech and Slovak *oba* thus regularly have two translation counterparts in English: *both* and *the two*. The semantics of English which determines whether one requires to use *both* or *the two* in a given context, or whether, as seems to be the case increasingly, either will do as well as the other, not to mention those occasions when *either* enters the fray (as in the previous clause!), is beyond the intended scope of the present remarks. However, a few examples will serve to show that the dearth of information on *oba* in Czech-English and Slovak-English dictionaries, with one notable exception,¹⁸ can be misleading and may well

such an acute issue in Slovak, which, while having colloquial registers, lacks the dichotomy of the Czech language situation.

¹⁷ Occasionally, however, it is encountered, apparently as a contamination of the alien system in a translation, in which case it is possible to meet, say, *mezi dvěma válkami* for *mezi oběma válkami* 'between the two wars'.

¹⁸ Most of the dictionaries simply offer *both* as the translation of *oba*. The exception is Poldauf's Czech-English dictionary, which does at least offer a selection of alternatives - *the two*, *either*, but neither the examples nor the semantic glosses are totally satisfactory: I. Poldauf: *Česko-anglický slovník*, 4th edn, Prague, 1973. Poldauf's more comprehensive later dictionary, produced with the collaboration of Robert B. Pynsent (Prague, 1986), seeks to explain the English options: '*jeden i druhý* both, *ti dva* the two' (p.440), but the examples

explain some of the odd-sounding translations involving the quantity two that emanate from Czech or Slovak sources. The main point of the examples below is, however, to underline the pronominal status of *oba* as a more important functional characteristic than that of numeral. For the sake of economy I do not always give the full context, but in each case it is clear that *oba* has a truly pronominal, indicational, function.¹⁹

Examples

Už nás ani nezajímá, jak se na takovou věc zatvářili oba kumpáni.

'We are no longer even interested in how *the two* pals viewed a thing like that' (*both* is perhaps a possible alternative here).

Rozdíl mezi oběma zprávami je příliš jasný.

'The difference between *the two* reports is all too clear' (after *between* the use of *both* seems to be increasing in English, despite the fact that the fundamental nature of *both* is to indicate that what is said of either member of a given pair applies equally to both of them; and a 'difference between one' of them would in fact be a nonsense).

Asi za hodinu potkali se oba, šťastný výherce i nešťastný bankéř.

'About an hour later *the two* met, the lucky winner and the unlucky banker' (with reciprocity *both* is highly unlikely; again, it is not possible to say of either one of them that they 'met').

Oba šli jiným směrem.

'They each went a different way' (with *ways* in the plural *both* becomes more acceptable: *They both went a different way* suggests, however, that the two in question went a different way from some third party).

Zajistili rovnováhu obou stran.

'They ensured an equilibrium between (literally *of*) *the two* sides'

below show that substitution of such would-be synonymous glosses will not always work.

¹⁹ Since these notes were first drawn up there has been a move in Czech circles towards granting *oba* its pronominal status. The dictionary *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (eds J. Filipec and F. Daneš, Prague, 1978), while still, like its predecessors, describing *oba* as a cardinal numeral, does at least, and unlike its predecessors, include as part of the definition the remark that the relevant denotates must already have been mentioned — which is as much as to say that it is a pronoun. Pauliny's descriptive *Slovenská gramatika* (Bratislava, 1981, p.140) makes a similar point; *obaja* is here included within the section on numerals, but it is not characterized as anything but a form (*tvar*), although the system of paragraph numbering does suggest that here too it is deemed to be a cardinal.

Nuže, můžeme obě tato místa ztotožnit.

‘So, we can identify *these two* (*both these?*) places as one.’

Vystavěli jej s velikou péčí a nákladem, ale obojí se vyplatilo.

‘They set it up with great care and at great expense, but *both* paid off.’

Vchody obou sálů byly umístěny na nároží, těsně vedle sebe.

‘The entrances to *the two* halls were situated at the corner, close together.’ (Here *both* would add an unwarranted, unnecessary, degree of emphasis, meaning ‘not just one, as someone might suppose’.)

Starší z obou žen poznal hned.

‘He recognized the elder of *the two* women at once’ (*both* is here impossible, again since what is said of both must apply equally to each, and ‘the older of one’ is a nonsense).

....dva způsoby. Každý z obou způsobů ...

‘...two methods. Each/either of *the two* methods...’ (*both* is likewise impossible on the grounds that ‘each of one method’ is impossible).

Finally, there is nothing about Czech or Slovak as specifically Slavonic languages that makes their uses of *oba* broader than those of *both*. Even superficial observation shows that Russian tends to use *оба* where English has *both*, using *два* for both English *two* and *the two*. Spanish on the other hand tends to use *ambos*, like Czech *oba*, for most English instances of *both* and *the two*, keeping the cardinal numeral *dos* for the English *two*. It would require much further study to establish just how close the Russian and English or Czech and Spanish distribution of these items is, and this would go beyond the scope of the present notes.

Afterword

Some years after the first version of this essay appeared, the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences published a new, comprehensive and authoritative descriptive grammar of Czech. It was not received with universal acclaim, chiefly because different sections by different authors were sometimes couched in heterogeneous theoretical terms. From the point of view of my main theme, however, it contains an important paragraph that introduces, within ‘numerals’, the category of *quantitative pronominalia*, exemplified by *tolik* ‘so many/much’, *několik* ‘several’, *kolikátý* ‘the how many-eth?’ and *oba*.²⁰ *Oba* is later described as having, in addition to its numerical value, ‘a semantic feature of the totality of the numerical fact, the exhaustion of the quantity of the elements in a set consisting of two elements’. It is illustrated by the example: *Zájezdu se zúčastnil předseda družstva s oběma dětmi* ‘The

²⁰ *Mluvnice češtiny 2: Tvarosloví*, Prague, 1986, p.106.

chairman of the co-operative went on the excursion with his two (lit. 'both') children' (p.111). In explanation, it is said that if the word *dvěma* 'two' had been used, it would not preclude the interpretation that these were merely two children from a larger family. (Nor would it — in fact — suggest that they were necessarily the chairman's own children.) The example is a complex one when it comes to all the possible interpretations of versions of the sentence with *dva* and their possible translations into English, if only because 'child' is not such a 'family-specific' kinship term as 'son'; because English and Czech use different syntax in marking kinship relations (English uses possessive pronouns, Czech on the whole does not); and the English definite article, though generally the main device to express 'definiteness', is frequently subsumed under other devices, notably possessives.

THE EXPRESSION OF 'TOO' AND 'VERY' IN CZECH AND SLOVAK

The following notes were inspired by Robert Austerlitz's compelling paper¹ on the underlying semantics of expressions for 'very' in Slovene, Serbo-Croat, Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak and Czech and the isoglosses that make up some quite defensible *Sprachbunde* among them. My present aim is to supplement Austerlitz's observations regarding Czech in particular, then to expand the discussion to the contiguous area of the expression of 'too', which is directly relevant in the light of the facts of Hungarian,² and to 'much/many'. I shall follow this with a contrastive discussion of the situation in Slovak and conclude with a remark on negation.

The Czech inventory for 'very', duly listed by Austerlitz,³ contains no less than five items: *velmi*, *velice*, *tuze*, *moc* and *hodně*. Of these, the last three concatenate with verbs as well as adjectives, in the sense of 'a lot', stylistically the most neutral in this function being *hodně*. *Tuze*, as Austerlitz notes (describing it as 'archaic'), is peripheral, being either regional or a feature of the speech of the older generation; its markedness even there, however, is often further enhanced by first-syllable lengthening (*tůze*).

An important distinction within the Czech inventory is how the available items for 'very' feature at the extremes of the contemporary Czech language situation, with its dichotomy between standard ('literary', though not solely written) Czech and Common (Common Colloquial) Czech (*obecná čeština*) or (variants of) its less 'uncouth' sister, the largely urban, commonly spoken Czech (*běžně mluvená čeština*) used by most speakers informally,⁴ a situation often described, though not universally acknowledged, as diglossia.⁵

¹ 'Circum-Pannonian isoglosses: the absolute superlative', *Slovene Studies*, 9, 1987, 1-2, pp.25-32 (hereafter Austerlitz).

² *Ibid.*, p.28.

³ *Ibid.*, *passim* and Table I, p.27.

⁴ See, *inter alia*, F. Čermák, 'Relations of spoken and written Czech', *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*, 20, 1987, pp.133-50, and Charles E. Townsend, *A Description of Prague Spoken Czech*, Columbus, Ohio, 1990, reviewed by the writer as 'Living Czech: the language of the he(a)rd', *SEER*, 69, 1991, 3, pp.502-10.

Standard Czech employs all five expressions, though *moc* is unequivocally at the bottom of the stylistic scale and is unlikely to appear in writing with any claim to 'style' or precision. It follows therefrom that *moc* is *the* expression for 'very' in Common Czech (etc.); some competition comes from *hodně*, but relatively little from *velmi* or *velice*.⁶

The great deficiency of *moc* (though equally one might say the great economy which it affords) is that in addition to expressing 'very', it also expresses 'too', hence

/1/ *Je moc starý* 'He's very old'

/2/ *Je (na to) moc starý* 'He's too old (for that)'

The number and nature of the accompanying constituents, actual or implied in a real utterance (as in /2/ where *na to* is present only implicitly), are such that there will rarely be any scope for true ambiguity, although despite this fact the 'better' (explicitly unambiguous) stylization of these utterances would require distinctive expressions:

/1a/ *Je velmi starý* and

/2a/ *Je (na to) příliš starý*

To make matters worse, *moc* has also, in the colloquial and sub-standard registers, taken on the function of an indefinite quantifier, followed, as is customary with this word class in Czech, by the genitive case, for example:

/3/ *Má moc času/peněz/sourozenců/starých knih*
'He has plenty of time/money/siblings/old books'

/4/ *Má to moc výhod/nevýhod*
'It has plenty of advantages/disadvantages'

That is to say, it is largely equivalent to *mnoho* 'much, many' in the standard language, although its probably more accurate equivalent should be seen in *velmi mnoho* 'very much/many'. Two reasons support this:

a) it would be highly unusual, if not impossible to use the locution **velmi moc* + GEN (let alone **moc moc* + GEN), hence *moc* in this function must be deemed to include *velmi*; and

⁵ For a fairly comprehensive bibliography of relevant literature see Adela Grygar-Rechziegel, 'On Czech diglossia' in Mojmir Grygar (ed.): *České studie: literatura, jazyk, kultura*, Amsterdam, Atlanta, 1990, pp.9-29.

⁶ Notwithstanding the writer's observation that *velice* does appear to act in some way as a near-hypercorrection when a speaker seeks to distance him or herself from the 'excesses' of Common Czech.

b) knowing that *moc* (ADVB) conveys both 'very' and 'too', we are not surprised that *moc* + GEN can also stand in for *příliš mnoho* 'too much/many'. An untidiness here is that a (fairly uneducated?, merely hyper-colloquial?) hybrid locution *příliš moc* is to be heard.

Because of the duality ('very many' vs 'too many') in *moc* + GEN, a number of the variants in /3/ and /4/ above are genuinely ambiguous in real contexts, for example:

- /3a/ *moc peněz* = *velmi mnoho peněz* 'a lot of money' (lit. 'very much money')
 = *příliš mnoho peněz* 'too much money'
 /4a/ *moc nevýhod* = *velmi mnoho nevýhod* 'very many disadvantages'
 = *příliš mnoho nevýhod* 'too many disadvantages'

while in others any ambiguity is largely theoretical and would be resolved by some such force as semantic probability, for example:

- /3b/ *moc sourozenců* '(very) many brothers and sisters'
 /4b/ *moc výhod* '(very) many advantages'

As Austerlitz points out,⁷ the *moc* morpheme has to do with power, though, oddly, he does not include among the lexical items involving it the noun *moc* 'power, might' itself. The only reason for mentioning it here is to pursue further the scope for ambiguity which bedevils *moc* when followed by the genitive, especially genitive plural. In fact, between

- /5/ *Moc feministů ho fascinuje/děsí/těší/přivádí do rozpaků*
 (a) 'The power of [the] feminists fascinates/horrifies/reassures/embarrasses him' and
 (b) 'Many feminists fascinate/horrify/reassure/embarrass him'

there subsists a mixed web of genuinely and theoretically possible ambiguities. The dangers of (inherently undesirable) ambiguity are not to be exaggerated, however, given that for reasons of register-appropriateness the colloquial *moc* 'too/very much/many' is unlikely to compete frequently with *moc* 'power, might', which is more an item of higher style.

Relatively much simpler patterns obtain in Slovak. Standard Slovak knows only *veľmi* for 'very'. Unlike Czech, it readily extends the use of this ad-adjectival adverb to ad-verbal functions, as in

- /6/ *Veľmi cestuje* 'He travels a lot' (*veľa* and *mnoho* are alternatives in this function)

i.e. for the Czech *hodně* or (*velmi*) *mnoho*. The ad-adjectival 'too' is *příliš*, cf. Czech *příliš*.

⁷ Austerlitz, pp.25, 29.

(In Austerlitz's terms, both expressions are, within their respective languages, OPAQUE, the etymon 'odd, unpaired', as in *lichý*, not being felt and any chance association with *liš-*, as in *od-liš-it* 'distinguish' and others being misplaced.)⁸ The Slovak counterparts to Czech *moc/hodně/(velmi) mnoho* as quantifiers (+ GEN) are *mnoho*, *hodne* and *veľa* (+ GEN), while Czech *moc* as 'too' may, in addition to Slovak *príliš*, be expressed by *veľa*.

Thus *veľa* has some of the potential of Czech *moc* to be ambiguous, though only between 'too much/many' and 'very much/many'. But unlike Czech, which cannot normally disambiguate by further specification (?*príliš moc*, **velmi moc*), Slovak does so readily, as in the examples⁹

- /7/ (*velmi*) *veľa ľudí* '(very) many people' and
 /8/ (*príliš*) *veľa práce* '(too) much work'.

Where Slovak does go awry is in the series of compound expressions with the productive prefix *pri-*. Not only do, say, the adjectives *priskorý* and *privehementný* mean 'very early' or 'too early' and 'very vehement' or 'over-vehement', but the adverb *veľa* may also attract the prefix, hence *priveľa*, to give the meanings 'too much', 'very much', or as quantifier 'too many', 'very many'. By contrast the adverb *priveľmi* only means — on the evidence of the dictionary¹⁰ — 'too', i.e. it becomes a synonym of *príliš*, rather than a refinement of *velmi*. This is born out by its equivalence, in bilingual dictionaries, to Czech *přespríliš*.¹¹

Another fairly productive prefix, *pre-*, reveals a similar non-uniform effect: *preveľa* means *velmi veľa* or *príliš mnoho*, i.e. 'very much/many' or 'too much/many', while *preveľmi* is an augmentative of *velmi* with none of the semantics of *príliš*.¹² Elsewhere the apparent semantics of the prefix *pre-* remains variable according to function: ad-adjectivally, as in *presladký*, it amounts to 'very' ('very sweet'), while ad-verbally, as in *presladiť*, it is closer to 'too' ('over-sweeten'), which indicates that, as far as English equivalents are concerned, part of the problem lies in the type of concatenated morphemes or word-classes.

⁸ cf. V.Machek: *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*, 3rd edn, Prague, 1971, p.333.

⁹ Taken from the standard dictionary, *Slovník slovenského jazyka*, Vol.5, Bratislava, 1965, p.48.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol.3, Bratislava, 1963, p.612.

¹¹ See, for example, *Česko-slovenský slovník*, Bratislava, 1979, p.417; Ž.Gašparíková and A.Kamiš, however, in *Slovensko-český slovník*, 3rd edn, Prague, 1986, under *priveľmi*, merely give *príliš*.

¹² Ibid., p.521.

Co-occurrence of negation with many of the expressions discussed demonstrates further how the two ideas of 'large degree' ('very') and 'excess' ('too'), already quite jumbled on Czecho-Slovak soil, may merge even beyond discriminability.

Czech, it is safe to say, never uses the chain

/9/ **ne velmi dobrý*

unless there is emphasis on *velmi* (i.e., 'not very good', [subtext: 'only fairly']). Instead, to the intonationally neutral English 'not very good' Czech always uses

/10/ *ne příliš dobrý*

Slovak will usually use here

/11/ *nie veľmi dobrý*

The English (intonationally neutral) 'not too good' seems to me to be synonymous with 'not very good', and likely to be used at best with slightly greater emphasis, or as a feature typifying regional or individual usage.¹³

In other negative contexts we may find there are fewer cases of doubt (rather than ambiguity) as to how the English translation equivalents might be established. Thus Slovak:¹⁴

/12/ *Išli, dokiaľ slnce priveľmi nepálilo.*

'They kept going as long as the sun was *not too* hot [while the sun was not very/too hot]'

/13/ *Mat'ko veľmi nepočúva ujčekove reči*

'Mat does *not* pay *much* attention to what his uncle says'

/14/ *Sýkora se veľmi neobzerá o syna*

'Sýkora does *not* take *much* care of his son'

¹³ Experience shows that there is even a vague US/UK isogloss between 'too' and 'very' in this type of expression, which, given this use of Czech *příliš* or German *zu* and possibly similar 'too' words in languages of other Central European immigrants to the USA, may therefore be identified as one of the numerous Central-Europeanisms by which US English has diverged from British.

¹⁴ All examples taken from the standard dictionary.

The Czech equivalents to these sentences might be:

/12a/ *Šli, dokud slunce příliš nepálilo*

/13a/ *Mat'ko příliš neposlouchá strýčkovy řeči*

/14a/ *Sýkora se příliš nestará o syna*

What the sentences do show, however, is that with clause negation, as with constituent (ad-jectival) negation, it does not greatly matter whether a high or super-high degree of an activity is negated; Slovak has selected as the preferred device *veľmi*, Czech, on the contrary *příliš*. English prefers 'not very' in ad-jectival negation, and 'not [too/very] much' in clause negation. This is confirmed by inspection of the negative versions of the earliest examples herein. Thus

/1b/ *Je moc/veľmi starý* becomes

/15/ *Není moc/příliš starý* 'He's not very old'

and

/2b/ *Je (na to) moc/příliš starý* becomes

/16/ *Není (na to) moc/příliš starý* 'He's not too old [for it]'¹⁵

of which the Slovak equivalents are:

/17/ *Je veľmi starý*

/15a/ *Nie je veľmi starý* (Or *Je nie veľmi starý*)

/18/ *Je (na to) priveľ'a/priveľ'mi/príliš starý*

/16a/ *Nie je (na to) priveľ'mi/veľ'mi starý*.

¹⁵ This confirms that 'to be old for something' is a predicate of a different order from 'to be old'.

**THE DISTRIBUTION OF /l/ IN CZECH —
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BUTTERFLIES¹
(with contrastive notes on Slovak)**

The feature described below is essentially a diachronic matter, but what appears interesting about it is the synchronic view of the resultant state. The point at issue is the distribution of syllabic /l/ in contemporary Czech. The basic material for the diachronic part of the discussion comes solely from Lamprecht, Šlosar and Bauer, *Historický vývoj češtiny*.² The description of the one relevant slice of Czech phonological development will be followed by some general conclusions arising from observation of the present state of the language, the argument resting in large part on a description of one particular group of words with a common derivational suffix.

The starting-point is proto-Slavonic /l/, hard or soft, as it occurred in the sequences known conventionally as $T_b l T$ and $T_b l T$. Both gradually evolved into the modern Czech sequences $T l u T$, with the exception of cases where /l/ was soft and the first consonant was a labial, which produced $T l T$, hence the difference between, for example, *mluvit* (< $T_b l T$) or *žlutý* (< $T_b l T$) and *vlk* (< $T_l b l T_2$: T_l = labial). The emergence and continued survival of syllabic /l/ as a precedent for the development of others later is what is important here.³

A more interesting matter is the evolution of the semi-syllables containing /l/, namely those that came about in consequence of the loss of the *jers* in weak positions; this was just one of the by-products of the loss of the *jers*.⁴

An /l/ of this origin could appear in the following positions:

¹ Republished with revisions and additions from *Phonetica Pragensia VII (Philologica 3, 1985)*, Prague, 1988, pp.35-41.

² A. Lamprecht, D. Šlosar and J. Bauer: *Historický vývoj češtiny*, Prague, 1977. Hereafter *HVČ*.

³ For a detailed account of these developments see *HVČ*, pp.29-30 and 62-64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.64-65.

- a) word-initially, e.g. Old Czech *lháti*, *lpeti*, *lstivý*;
- b) post-initially, e.g. *slza*, *plváti*, *hltati*, *klnu*;
- c) medially, e.g. *sedlka*, *jablko*, *tkadlcě*, *zrcadlko*, *bidlko*, *řemeslník*, *spravedlnost*;
- d) word-finally, e.g. *mysl*, *vedl*, *modl*.

In the sequel, these newly emerged clusters involving /l/ evolved in a variety of different ways, which are given here in random, unmotivated order and without direct reference to contemporary literary, dialect or colloquial usage (they represent a mixture of such forms):

1. /l/ becomes fully syllabic: *slza*, *hltat*, *klnu*, *jablko*, *řemeslník*, *spravedlnost*, *mysl*, *vedl*;
2. the potential of /l/ to become syllabic is not exploited: *lháti*, *lpeti*, *lstivý* (this is the general case for word-initial position; if such a /l/ acquired the quantity to be syllabic, it would also attract the stress, which is never the case initially: the modern Czech forms *lhát* and *lpět* are monosyllables);
3. a medial consonantal cluster may simplify:
 - a) by the loss of /l/ itself: *zrcátko*, *řemeslník*, *japko*;
 - b) by the loss of some other consonant: *selka*, *tkalce*;
4. a fill-vowel develops, thereby depriving /l/ of even potential syllabicity: *bidélko*, *máselník*, *model*, *bidel*; also such local dialect forms as *nesil*, *neslu* or *néseř* (for *nesl*), and perhaps, as according to one account, the Old Czech *listivě*;
5. final /l/ may disappear: *ved*, *nes*, *pek*;
6. isolated instances of metathesis: *žlička* (for *lžička*).

It follows from the above that more than one solution may apply in one and the same environment (*jablko-japko*, *nesl-nes-néseř*), representing in part geographic variation, and in part variation on the vertical scale from Common Colloquial Czech to Standard Literary Czech, where the roots of the variation lie in chronology of codification (v.i.). Some pairs of alternatives exist side by side in free variation, e.g. *máselník-másník*,⁵ while some have evolved towards a degree of independent lexicalization within the same (standard) form of the language, e.g. *zrcátko-zrcadélko* (see *SSJČ*).

Each of the above processes appears to point firmly in the direction of either reinforcing the potential of /l/ to become syllabic after the loss of an adjacent *jer*, by which the

⁵ See *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, the standard Czech dictionary, originally published 1971, republished without change 1989. Hereafter *SSJČ*.

/l/ becomes fully syllabic, or of specifically preventing any such development. The tendency for /l/ to become fully syllabic appears strongest in circumstances where it is unlikely to alternate (in declension, derivation, etc.) with non-syllabic /l/, the case of group b. above. Note, however, that although this is the general case with words of type b., two of those quoted have not survived intact: *plváti*, conjugating *pļuju*, etc., has evolved into *plivat* and has changed its conjugational allegiance; and *klnu*, which had the infinitive *kléti*, has since evolved into *klít*, conjugating *kleji*, etc., that is, in both cases there had been alternation between syllabic and non-syllabic /l/ and this has been overcome. The majority of words of type b., with syllabic /l/ surviving, are those for which original syllabic /l/ (as in *vlk*, *plný*, etc.) acts pre-eminently as a precedent. In group a. there is also no alternation with non-syllabic /l/, but in this initial position there is no support from a precedent, which may help to account for the non-syllabic nature of the initial /l/ in such items as *lhát* or *lstivý* in modern Czech. Some of the other evidence from different times and places also suggests, if inconclusively, a tendency against initial syllabic /l/, hence Old Czech *listivě* (allowing for the ambiguity in the interpretation of the spelling), or the dialectal *žlička*.

Elsewhere /l/ evolves as fully syllabic in the first instance, but in all cases it will alternate (in morphology or derivation) with non-syllabic /l/, cf. such pairs as *jablko-jablek*, *řemeslník-řemeslo*, *spravedlnost-spravedlivý*, *mysl-mysli*, *vedl-vedla*. The argument which follows is based on the inference that such an alternation between syllabic and non-syllabic /l/ has, by some kind of abduction, been felt undesirable; although it is fully sustained in the standard literary form of the language, both the dialects and Common Colloquial Czech show moves away from this state of affairs. Forms such as *japko*, *řemesník* or *ved* are from outside the literary language. The case of *mysl* probably differs from that of standard *vedl* v. colloquial (or dialect) *ved* in that in *mysl*, like for example *spravedlnost*, is rather unlikely to occur in the kind of discourse where one might encounter such forms as *japko* or *ved* (that is, if it did so occur it would retain its higher-style attributes), and in the perhaps more general (not register-specific) oblique-case form, found in the common phrase *mít na mysli*, the question of syllabicity or otherwise does not arise.

In all the other types of change, i.e. where /l/ does not become syllabic, the resultant state amounts to 'not syllabic /l/', i.e. zero, or a non-syllabic /l/ with or without the support of an inserted vowel, e.g. *zrcátko*, *védeť* or *tkalce* respectively.

Let us now move to a brief outline of some of the derivational processes alive in Modern Czech, namely those in which /l/ has a role to play in certain critical positions.

1. Adjectives formed from simple nouns usually contain a suffix of more than one phoneme, e.g. the expressive *-atý* as in *hlavatý*, *hubatý*, *nohatý*, *zubatý* (from *hlav-a*, *hub-a*, *noh-a*, *zub* respectively), also in the technical *křídlatý* (from *křídl-o*), the very common *-ový* as in *křídlový*, *mýdlový* (from *křídl-o*, *mýdl-o*), or the common suffixes *-ný*, *-ní*, as in *číselný*,

sádelný, křídelní (from *číslo, sádl-o, křídlo*). Most of these examples have been selected for the /l/ that is present, but note that it is invariably non-syllabic. The same applies essentially to the adjective-forming single-phoneme suffix -ý, which occurs typically in adjectives derived from two-word expressions, as in *dvouhlavý* (from *dvě hlavy*), *ostrozubý* (from *ostré zuby*), *dlouhonohý* (from *dlouhé nohy*) and many others, including *blanokřídý* (from *blána + křídlo* with stem-final l). It is to the last type I shall return.

2. Another process of derivation which is relevant to the discussion is the adjectivalization of the *l*-participle (past tense) in Czech, e.g. *znal-znalý*, but also *leskl-lesklý*. The significant factor is the presence of a vowel or, what matters here, a consonant before the /l/.

3. One link between the two types is the process of nominalization based on them and using the suffix -ec, analogously to, for example, *znalec*. Primarily this relates to a whole range of specialist derived nouns such as *srpo-*, *zlato-*, *skelno-*, *pestrokřídlec* (this list is far from exhaustive) and the isolated *kovolesklec*.⁶ They are all names of butterflies and moths. The same suffix occurs elsewhere in the naming of species of lepidoptera, e.g. *pestrobarvec* (e.g. *Panthea* sp.), but unlike these, and unlike practically all other words ending in the suffix -ec, the types *srpokřídlec* and *kovolesklec* alone do not lose the -e- in declension and derivation; i.e. although we have *pestrobarvec*, gen. sg. *pestrobarvce*, we do not find **srpokřídlece* or, in derivation, **srpokřídlcovití*, in which the /l/ could not avoid being syllabic. Instead we have the suffix in the constant form -ec, as in genitive singular *srpokřídlece* or the generic name *srpokřídlecovití*, and *eo ipso* the /l/ is non-syllabic.⁷ In other words, just as centuries ago the (apparently) undesirable alternation of syllabic and non-syllabic /l/ of the type *tkadlec/tladleč*, *plváti/plvu*, *bidlo/bidlko* or the later *jablek/jablko* was overcome by various procedures (in favour of the forms *tkalce*, *plivat*, *bidélko* and *japko*

⁶ The names are all descriptive, the first element based on shape, colour or appearance, hence *srpokřídlec* (*Drepana* sp., *Trisateles* sp.) 'sickle-wing', *zlatokřídlec* (*Cirrhia* sp., *Pyrrhia* sp.) 'gold-wing', *skelnokřídlec* (*Nudaria* sp.) 'glass-wing', *pestrokřídlec* (*Zerynthia* sp.) 'gaudy-wing' (the festoon family); *kovolesklec* (*Abrostola*, *Plusia*, *Autographa*, *Polychrisia*, *Chrysaspidia*, *Syngrapha* sp.) implies something having a metallic sheen.

⁷ I was not to know at the time of writing the original version of this essay (January 1985) that part of this same issue was being picked up by Dušan Šlosar, in 'Pestrokřídlec', a chapter in his *Jazyčník*, Prague, 1985, pp.47-50. His comments on the -křídlec type made passing contrasts and comparisons to *tkadlec* and *pestřec* in particular. The book appeared on 29 August 1985 (see *Nové knihy*), but did not reach me until late November of the same year. Šlosar's title picks up one item, *pestrokřídlec*, which had not appeared in my own original repertoire of these interesting butterfly and moth names, and which in its oblique case forms is listed in *SSJČ* as having gen. -křídlece, as Šlosar points out. None of the other names which I quote has made its way into that dictionary, thus there is no guidance if the user does not know that *pestrokřídlec* is to serve as the model for all. However, despite the guidance of the dictionary, the norm among lepidopterists (as revealed in books by them) is that which I have described, i.e. with the constant stem: -křídlec/-křídlece.

respectively — let it be said here that only the first three types have penetrated the standard language), the same kind of alternation, potentially present in this particular area of modern terminology, is likewise overcome, albeit by yet another, different process. (I am not in a position to suggest that this came about spontaneously in the usage of entomologists themselves, or to see in it the outcome of linguistic counselling; what matters here is that the ‘problem’ of alternation arose and that present usage shows it resolved.)

Outside the world of butterflies there are few words in Czech where the same problem appears. There is, however, the word *koniklec* (*Pulsatilla* sp.), which is resolved in the same manner as the butterfly names (indeed it may have served as a model for them). The fact that *koniklec* is essentially anomalous may have come about through contamination with the word *klec* (actually from an entirely different paradigm; moreover *-ec* here is not a suffix), or through loss of the connection with the motivating verb *poniknout* once the initial *p* had assimilated to the *k* of the third syllable (*poniknout*, *poniklý*, *poniklec*, *koniklec*). Then there is the word *podlec*, where *-ec* is a nominalizing suffix from the adjective *podlý*, in which, according to *SSJČ*, alternation of syllabic and non-syllabic /l/ in declension is the only possibility. This makes *podlec* practically unique, although one or two toponyms, such as *Sedlec*, continue to exhibit the same feature (*SSJČ*).

Further space for similar ‘conflict’ through alternation might conceivably be sought in connection with the other liquid *r*, which in Czech shares much of the history of /l/ and can be both syllabic and non-syllabic. The peculiarities of the situation described above for /l/ are, however, barely replicated at all for *r*, and the suffix *-ec* added to a stem-final cluster of consonant + *r* occurs only in the word *pestrěc* (*Scleroderma* sp.),⁸ with the additional complication of the change *r* > *ř*. The oblique-case forms of *pestrěc* are eloquent testimony to the word’s unresolved unique stem-form alternation: *SSJČ* gives *pestrce*, i.e. trisyllabic with (syllabic) *r* the carrier of the second syllable, *pestrče*, i.e. disyllabic with the normal loss of the vocalized *jer*, *-e-*, from the suffix, and *pesterce*, trisyllabic and with a fill vowel to support the *r* and perhaps inhibit syllabicity in the sense discussed with regard to /l/.

The main factor with regard to /l/ does seem to be a kind of undesirability about its alternating in syllabic and non-syllabic guise. In developments *outside* the most strictly literary stratum of the language we have seen a variety of ways in which this duality is overcome. The results of these processes have penetrated only partially into the literary language — cases like *bidélko*, *zrcátko*, *tkalce* and some others. *Within* the literary standard language the alternation survives: a) wherever the actual structure of a morpheme does not permit it to be resolved — the case of *mysl*; b) where the literary standard adheres to more conservative forms (applying as the norm in the sixteenth century, hence adopted in the National Revival), distinct from other alternatives that have evolved, e.g. literary *vedl*, *jablko*

⁸ Likewise referred to by Šlosar; see Note 6.

as opposed to colloquial or dialect *ved*, *japko*; or c) in words that belong par excellence to the literary lexis, such as *spravedlnost*, where the /l/ will not drop even if the word is used out of register and so inevitably alternates with the non-syllabic /l/ in related words such as *spravedlivý*. The case of *pohodlný/pohodlí*, words by no means confined to high literary use, must be seen as an exception to the picture I have tried to present, though an explanation could be found in the random transfer of given lexical items across register boundaries; the argument, for which no claims are made here, would then suggest that words of this kind have acquired wider currency than was theirs originally, but their form, or phonological peculiarity in respect of the alternating types of /l/, would betray their origins.

Forms such as *ved* (as opposed to *vedla*) or *japko* (as opposed to *jablek*) are, by contrast, evaluated as non-literary.⁹ It could be said that they represent a kind of progress in having eliminated the *l*-alternation successfully, as in other cases that preceded them, but that they came too late to be accepted into the literary form of the language. Given the variety of ways in which elimination of the alternation has been achieved, it seems irrelevant to consider the virtues of each or any particular method. In the case of *vedla/ved* it would appear that the alternation of /l/ with zero is preferable to the alternation of non-syllabic and syllabic /l/. Let it be added that such past-tense forms as *ved*, *pek* or *nes* are just as masculine as the nouns *hrad*, *rok* or *pes*, i.e. what matters is consonantality, which is not a property peculiar to /l/. The counter-argument that the standard literary forms of *vedl*, *vedla*, *vedlo* are somehow more acceptable since all are disyllabic and therefore survive despite the alternation of the two types of /l/ is not entirely satisfactory, since the language is no stranger to paradigmatically related forms containing different numbers of syllables, cf. *dělám-dělají*, *otcův-otcova*, *šed-šedši* and others. Moreover, in all other than consonantal-stem verbs the masculine singular is systematically one syllable shorter than the others, by which token the pattern *ved-vedla-vedlo-vedli* is more 'regular' in terms of syllable length than standard *vedl-vedla-vedlo-vedli*.

To return to the butterflies: it seems that the patterns of declension and derivation followed by this class of nouns, i.e. without syllabic /l/, is entirely in the spirit of the development of Czech. This tendency to eliminate the alternation of syllabic and non-syllabic /l/ seems to be stronger than that of a paradigmatically uniform alternation of forms of the suffix, i.e. *-ec/-ce*.¹⁰ Terminology is of course only a peripheral area of the standard lexis,

⁹ However, nineteenth-century writers, especially poets, had no qualms about using such forms as *ved*, usually indicating the lost *l* by an apostrophe. On the chances of their eventual acceptance in the standard language, see the essay in this volume on developments in the Czech past tense.

¹⁰ Indeed Šlosar (see Note 7) tolerantly suggests that elimination of the alternation 'would not offend our [linguistic] consciousness' were it to come about and explains why it would be feasible (the generally observed tendency for stem alternation within a paradigm to be

but this is not intended to contradict the recent repeated observations of a shift in the centre of gravity of the literary language towards the more technical (see the Foreword to *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost*, Prague, 1978, p.5, and various articles in the journals *Slovo a slovesnost* and *Naše řeč* around the time of the dictionary's appearance). It is not therefore surprising that technical terminology does not share entirely the conservatism of the most literary stratum of the language. Just as one might consider the (possible) presence or absence of prothetic *v-* as a mark of the non-literary or literary respectively in Czech, one could perhaps claim that non-alternation and alternation of the two types of /l/ are at least partially characteristic of the less and more literary variants of the phonological system of Czech. It might also be said that either terminology is not fully integrated into the core of the language or that, at least in the case of one partial feature of certain recent terminological units, it is pointing the way to a phonological development which corresponds to a general, and repeated, tendency in Czech, despite the fact that in most other cases the (essentially stable) literary language is capable of tolerating simultaneously instances of alternation and non-alternation of the two kinds of /l/. Šlosar's closing comment,¹¹ in which he points out that no further taxonomic items of the essentially awkward structure described have been formed for a long time ('the suffix *-ec* ... in the derivation of names of bearers of attributes [which is precisely what such descriptive butterfly names as those cited are, D.S.] from bases ending in consonantal clusters has long been unproductive'), perhaps reflects the taxonomers' conscious decision to avoid re-creating situations of a type to which, as I maintain, the language has consistently shown its own inherent resistance.

The limiting of further proliferation of alternation is shown not only by the butterfly names, but also by another, rather isolated, case of a quite different kind. The perfective aspect of the verb *lhostejnět* is formed, as in others of the same class (denoting a change of state), by the prefix *z-*. Everything suggests that the perfective form has the same number of syllables as the imperfective, i.e. at the beginning there is a consonantal cluster *zlh-* with non-syllabic /l/, and the stress remains on the *o*. With but one other exception /l/ between consonants is syllabic, so it may not be too bold to suggest that even the most literary stratum of the language is marginally involved in the evolutionary process described — the gradual removal, or at least inhibition, of alternation between syllabic and non-syllabic /l/.¹²

overcome in favour of one constant stem form). Could this be a hint that the norm apparently suggested by *SSJČ* under '*pestrokrídlec*' is due for revision?

¹¹ '*Pestrokřídlec*', p.48.

¹² The other exception referred to is the word *předlhůtní*. What makes this and *zlhostejnět* different from all others with interconsonantal *l* is really the fact that the morpheme boundary between the prefix (*z-* and *před-* respectively) and the source words, *lhostejný* and *lhůta*, remains transparent; both words begin with the old word-initial semi-syllable, which, as noted early in this essay, never developed into a fully-fledged syllable.

In contrast to Czech, the much more recently codified Slovak has behaved, in its solution to formerly interconsonantal or word-final postconsonantal or word-initial preconsonantal occurrences of /l/, remarkably consistently.¹³

The word-initial position (where Czech has neither lost /l/, nor evolved a syllable) reveals in Slovak several instances which are analogous to the situation in Czech, with items such as *l'piet'*, *l'nút'*, *lkát'*, but I would describe these as peripheral in Slovak, since they are all glossed as 'bookish' or 'poetic' in the dictionary; in contrast to Czech they are nevertheless interesting in the preservation of the old distinction between hard /l/ and soft /l'/. Related words with a prefix, such as *pril'navost'*, *pril'nút'*, or those with a different degree of ablaut (having a full vowel) in the stem, such as *lipnút'*, lose any 'bookish' attribute. In most neutral cases, however, the situation has been resolved by a variety of inserted vowels: *luhať* (Cz. *lhát*), *lehota* (Cz. *lhůta*), *z-lýhať* (Cz. *se-lhat*), *ľahostajný* (Cz. *ľhostejný*).¹⁴ These solutions have been adopted merely as simplifications of consonantal clusters, not to inhibit any alternation of varieties of /l/, which barely threatens in word-initial position. The same applies within certain declensional types, where two analogous patterns emerge: the less typical for Slovak is the type *lož-lži*, *lest'-lsti*, which preserves alternating forms of the stem (also frequent elsewhere in the language: *pes-psa*, *deň-dňa* etc.), while more typical of the language as a whole, though statistically under-represented in the area of word-initial *l-*, is the evolution of stem-morpheme consistency, overruling the ancient outcome of the loss and vocalization of the *jers*, hence words such as *lev-leva*, *ľad-ľadu*. Even in the case of *lest'* the standard dictionary offers oblique-case doublets *ľsti/ľesti*, of which the latter may be safely presumed to be the progressive form. The derived adjective and noun *ľstivý*, *ľstivosť* remain at this point isolated; they are not, of course, part of the paradigm of *lest'*.

Thus in word-initial position, Slovak, unlike Czech, had two interconnected problems to solve with *lT-*: non-preferred consonantal clusters, and alternation of allomorphs within a paradigm.

¹³ This section summarizes a seminar paper given to the Slovak Linguistics Association in Bratislava, 17 April 1990; a brief résumé was published in *Zápisník slovenského jazykovedca*, 9, 1990, 4, pp.14-15.

¹⁴ While Czech has been tolerant of word-initial semi-syllables involving a variety of consonants in many different consonantal clusters, as in *lhát*, *lžice*, *jměl*, *jsem*, *rvát*, *mše*, *mžourat*, Slovak has generally eliminated them by one of five devices, hence *luhať*, *lyžica*, *ruvat'* (vowel inserted), *imelo* (effective vocalization of ancient initial *j_B-*), *som* (loss of initial *j-*), *omša* (emergence of prothetic vowel), *žmúrit'* (metathesis). Even in Slovak there are some high-style survivals equivalent to the Czech pattern, as in *rmut* or *ľživý* and other items with initial *lT-* or *l'T-* mentioned (T = any consonant).

The second type of situation, where syllabic /l/ occurs post-initially and generally survives — in Czech — where no alternation of with non-syllabic /l/ could occur, is replicated in Slovak; indeed it is so well integrated as a syllabic feature that it may occur in both long and short syllables, like any other carrier of the syllable, hence *slza-sĺz*, *hltat'-hl'ce*, and, in derivation, *vlk/vĺča*, *prehĺtat'/prehltávat'*. In the case of two items which had had possible alternation of syllabic and non-syllabic /l/, Slovak has eliminated the problem: for the old *plvátí* it now has *pľuvať*, which conforms to the personal forms of the verb, and for the old *kľnu-kľetí* two different solutions have arisen in *kľnúť-kľnie* and *kľiat'-kľaje*, both indicating the trend towards solutions showing morphemic consistency.

For the third group, with medial /l/ and the possibility of alternation of its syllabic and non-syllabic variants, Slovak has adopted a number of solutions. The *jablko* type is integrated in the same way as the case of post-initial /l/, hence its genitive plural *jabĺk*, leaving aside just *jabloň*.¹⁵ The Czech type *sedlák-selka* has been resolved in Slovak by adoption of a common stem with minimal morphonological alternation, hence *sedliak-sedliačka*. The diminutives in *-dlko have been resolved by means of a fill-vowel, for example *bidielko*, *zrkadielko*, that is, unlike the Czech type *zrcadlo-zrcátko*, *měřidlo-měřítko*, the /l/ has survived, but in a way that avoids alternation of its syllabic and non-syllabic variants. Mathematical terms such as *rovnítko*, *delítko* and also *pravítko* remain an oddity; either they represent a solution parallel to the Czech, or they represent systematic borrowings (from Czech) into this narrow semantic field.¹⁶ The fill-vowel solution also applies to such words as *remeselník*, which retains the /l/ of the underlying *remeslo*, but without the complication of alternating types of /l/. Finally the *tkadlec* type: in Slovak this particular item possibly survives solely as a surname, but the type is also represented by such expressions as *zvrhlec*, *spustlec* and *svetbehlec*,¹⁷ and by *poniklec/koniklec*.¹⁸ Here, unlike other Slovak

¹⁵ As a type of dendronym this is fairly isolated in Slovak, in contrast to Czech, which has, for example, *jabloň*, *višeň*, *třešeň*, *mandloň*, *smokvoň*, *hrušeň*, *kdouloň*, *broskvoň*; compare Slovak *jabloň*, *višňa*, *čerešňa*, *mandľovník*, *figovník*, *hruška*, *dula*, *broskyňa*, in which the name of the tree and that of the fruit often simply coincide (as they may do in Czech with some others: *meruňka*, Slovak *marhuľa*). Thus from the point of view of the discussion *jabloň* is a peripheral item on all counts.

¹⁶ During the discussion following the seminar at which this paper was originally given, it was pointed out that other similar items are also to be heard in Slovak (though not yet attested in any dictionary), such as *krmítko*, used increasingly alongside the form *křmidlo*, which is given as the Slovak translation of both Czech *krmítko* and *krmelec*. The semantic independence of *krmítko* as 'bird-table', as opposed to the primary, technical meaning of *křmidlo* as 'feeder' will doubtless sustain it as a loan-word, historically divorced from patterns of diminutive formation.

¹⁷ All three of these expressions have (progressively preferred?) synonyms containing other morphemic attributes which take them right out of this problem area, namely *spustlík*.

nouns ending in *-Tec* (and in all other instances there is only one consonant before the suffix *-ec*), the *-e-* is not dropped, that is, the stem has remained constant and no alternation of syllabic and non-syllabic /l/ occurs; this is the same solution as found, as late as the nineteenth century, for the Czech names of butterflies and moths.

Word-final /l/ in Slovak is invariably separated from a preceding consonant by a fill-vowel: in past tense forms (always *-o-*: *viedol-viedla*, *tisol-tisla*, and the unusual *zohol-zohla*), and in nouns of a variety of declensions (*-e-* as the new fill-vowel¹⁹ in the nominative singular: *mysel'*, *šmirgel'*, *zmysel*; usually *-ie-* in the genitive plural: *modla-modiel*, *skridla-skridiel*). Alternation of two types of /l/ simply does not occur. In the area of nouns the treatment of loan-words alone reveals two strata: the earlier ones, even down to quite recent times, are integrated by the use of the fill-vowel: *handel*, *brajgel*, *šimeľ*, *fenikel*, *motocykel*, but the most recent one (possibly to be viewed as a 'Czechoslovakism', or Bohemianism) remains non-integrated by retaining final *-Tl* and the consequent alternation of syllabic and non-syllabic /l/: *singl*. (The word is peripheral not only phonologically, but also lexically; it has so far failed to be included in dictionaries, perhaps on the grounds that it counts as a jargon item.)

The names of butterflies (the original inspiration for this essay) are not a problem in Slovak, since they are derived using non-problematic suffixes, chiefly *-ovec*. This continues the broader Slovak tendency to have employed progressive patterns which not only avoid the alternation of syllabic and non-syllabic /l/, but also, unlike so many of the Czech solutions, entail no losses, hence Slk *sedliačka* to Cz. *selka*, Slk *zrkadielka* to Cz. *zrcátka* and others. The few exceptions which nevertheless continue to survive in Slovak may be described as peripheral within the native stock (*jabloň-jablko*, *pohodlie-pohodlný*), or peripheral as alien (Czech?), which, like the case of *singl*, lack any internal relationship to semantically close native expressions; this would apply to *pravítka*, divorced from *pravidlo* — the /l/ from *pravítka* was lost by Czech, not Slovak (the native Slovak would, in the manner of *zrkadielko*, have been **pravidielko*). In a third type, the expressions affected are semantically sufficiently remote from each other for the (historically motivated) alternation of the two types of /l/ not to be an obstacle; this is the case of *spravodlivosť-ospravedlňovať*.²⁰

zvrhlík and *svetobežec* or *svetobežník*.

¹⁸ Unlike the previous three examples, this is derivationally thoroughly opaque and has become, in effect, a semantically unmotivated morphonological isolate.

¹⁹ As distinct from *-o-* or *-e-* as reflexes of either jer: *osol*, gen. *osla*, *kel*, gen. *kla*; in this case, in neither Slovak nor Czech did the issue of alternating types of /l/ arise.

²⁰ Czech preserves two lexical items *spravedlný* ('just', 'fair' of abstracts) and *spravedlivý* 'fair', just', of persons), a high-style distinction, hence the survival of syllabic

In sum, Czech is still burdened by a degree of conservatism in how it has coped with recurring patterns of alternating syllabic and non-syllabic /l/, and I would describe the tendency to overcome such alternation, by whatever means, as progressive in each successive period in the language's development. On the other hand, standard Slovak has more thoroughly and more consistently overcome the 'danger' of the emergent alternation of syllabic and non-syllabic /l/ (or /l'/ too, in its case) than Czech, preferring on the whole solutions that preserve the morpheme structure of the lexical items involved.²¹ Departures involving fill-vowels are consistent with similar patterns in syllables containing clusters involving other consonants than /l/. In other words, Slovak has always adopted the progressive solution, but without loss: where Czech has resolved the issue of alternating types of /l/ by loss of the /l/ itself in some forms, standard Slovak has preserved it. It is true that in some Slovak dialects the opposite solution may be observed, as in the Záhorie treatment of *jablko*, which shows *jabko-jabiek*, but this loss of /l/ from all forms, in its own way, confirms the general trend.

and non-syllabic /l/ respectively in them. Slovak uses only *spravodlivý* in both senses. Slk *ospravedlňovať* 'excuse', *ospravedlňovať sa* 'apologize' owe their origin to the defunct **spravodlný*; Cz. *ospravedlnit* 'justify' remains semantically closer to the surviving *spravedlný*.

²¹ This trend is entirely within the spirit of Slovak, precisely in contrast to Czech, and accounts for such morphemically consistent patterns as *snaha-snahe* (nominative v. dative singular of 'hard' feminine nouns; contrast Czech *snaha-snaze*), *anglický-anglickí* (nominative singular v. nominative plural of adjectives, contrast Czech *anglický-angličtí*), *vyhodit'-vyhodený* (infinitive v. passive participle, contrast Czech *vyhodit-vyhozený*) or *pomôžu-pomôž* (third person plural v. imperative, contrast Czech *pomohou/pomůžou-pomoz*).

SPEECH THERAPY AND PHONETICS AS LITERARY THEMES¹

In *Logopedický zborník* 2-3 Karel Ohnesorg gave a fascinating and fairly comprehensive survey of a number of familiar and less familiar works, from various literatures, in which matters relating to phonetics or one of its practical applications, speech therapy, play some part.² The author's aim was to show the importance of such matters throughout (European) cultural history. These notes merely seek to supplement Ohnesorg's survey.

It is not surprising that writers, people who work with language, are actively aware of the peculiarities of speech of individuals, including features classifiable as defects. It is natural that not only such features as dialect, but also speech defects enter literature as elements in characterization. What is conspicuous in many of the cases discussed by Ohnesorg is the seriousness with which writers handle the speech patterns of people with linguistic impairments. Some of their texts, such as Musset's tale 'Pierre et Camille', might almost have come from the professional linguist or phonetician.

From the literary point of view, the incidence of elements that might interest the speech therapist or phonetician may be divided into at least three basic types:

- a) works where literary form is subordinated to a speech-therapy or phonetic objective;
- b) works in which speech therapy or phonetics as themes are central to a particular work, much as any other subject, such as love, courtly honour or the building of socialism;
- c) works in which speech therapy or phonetics are largely incidental to the main theme of a work and of more or less significance to it.

¹ Adapted from a version originally published in Jozef Liška *et al.*: *Reč, čítanie a ich poruchy*, Logopedický zborník 6, Košice, 1978, pp.317-21.

² 'Logopedická problematika v beletrii', in Jozef Liška (ed.): *Z logopedického výskumu*, Košice, 1974, pp.243-51. He refers to the following individuals or works: Demosthenes; Aristophanes (*The Wasps*); Molière (*Le bourgeois gentilhomme*); de Musset ('Pierre et Camille'); de Vigny (*Journal d'un poète*); Auguste von Kotzebue (in a third-hand Czech rendering by Norbert Vaněk as the play *Hluchoněmý aneb Abbé l'Epée*); G.B. Shaw (*Pygmalion, Captain Brassbound's Conversion*); Henri Perruchot (*La vie de Toulouse-Lautrec*); Jan Neruda (*Povídky malostranské*); Georges Feydeau (*La puce à l'oreille*); Pitigrilli ('Stammering' in *Mammiferi di lusso*); and Kornei Chukovskii (*Od dvukh do piati*).

The first group, which really stands only at the periphery of literature, includes Veselý's narrative treatment of stammering in his story of little Viera.³ The didactic aspect is paramount, which comes out clearly from the systematic presentation of the education, upbringing and treatment of the young heroine. The strength of their didactic element would place the works by Musset and Pitigrilli,⁴ discussed by Ohnesorg, in this same group, though their literary claims are of a higher order, given their authors' profession. Within the group speech therapy is represented more than phonetics.

The second group is more interesting and constitutes a transition to the third. In such works the author is investigating above all the social impact of defective (or other) pronunciation irrespective of whether the case is one of speech therapy or orthophony. Two examples will suffice in illustration. The most obvious candidate is Shaw's *Pygmalion*, duly mentioned by Ohnesorg. Here the problem of orthophony, or the then orthoepic standard (as perceived by Professor Higgins) is analysed against the background of a dialect which is socially 'undesirable'. The professional phonetician seeks to demonstrate his theory and method on the raw material of Liza Doolittle, a Cockney flower-girl, who is to be introduced to higher society solely by the medium of 'better' English. It is a serious comedy with some satirical intent: criticism of dubious social values by which one may become a social outcast simply on the grounds of unpolished speech patterns. The element of didacticism carried by the satire is not rooted in the 'speech therapeutic' (elocutional) problem itself; Professor Higgins's work is merely a means to his particular end — a piece of early social engineering, but at the same time it is a reflection of the period interest in phonetics as a relatively new science.⁵ The technical side of things is intended more to amuse than to instruct.

My second example of the social impact of deviant speech patterns in literature is Wolfgang Borchert's posthumously published short story 'Schischyphusch, oder Der Kellner meines Onkels'.⁶ As the title indicates, the subject here is lisping. There is nothing either satirical or didactic in the author's intention; it is merely a good example of how defective speech may serve as the core component of a literary work. The social impact of lisping is

³ Eduard Veselý: 'Věra koktala', in Jozef Liška *et al.*: *Logopedické problémy*, Logopedický zborník 4-5, Košice, 1976, pp.129-96.

⁴ Pitigrilli, pen-name of Dino Segre (1893-1975), was by profession a doctor, but also a humorist with a fine sense for the foibles and absurdity of his fellow-men.

⁵ As propagated in particular by one of the science's early exponents, Henry Sweet (1845-1912), especially in *The Sounds of English*.

⁶ Borchert (1921-1947) was not a prolific writer. The text of 'Schischyphusch' is to be found in his *Gesamtwerk* (Hamburg, 1977) on pp. 285-97. There is also an English edition of the collected works, *The Man Outside. The Prose Works of Wolfgang Borchert* (London, 1952), translated by David Porter.

observed from two angles: the attitude of the milieu to the lisping individual, and the interrelationship of two people with a lisp who happen to meet. Out of the conflict situation in which each lisper thinks that the other is making fun of him comes an unusual bond of friendship. One was a pitiful individual who had lisped all his life. At work (he is a waiter) he is the target of the humiliating attention of his environment, much as he had been at school, which is where he had acquired the nickname 'Schischyphusch'. The other had begun to lisp after a wartime injury — he had lost the tip of his tongue. He had never allowed his newly defective speech to stand in the way of his success. But since he had personal experience of life with and without a lisp, he was sympathetic to the predicament of fellow-sufferers.

No less interesting from the literary point of view are works where speech therapy or phonetics slip in far less conspicuously, no more emphasized than any other plot-forming or background element. All three of the following examples come from authors of acknowledged standing in the history of Czech literature.

In Karel Čapek's (1890-1938) *War with the Newts*⁷ we learn that 'although the Salamanders learned foreign languages with relative ease and with enthusiasm, their linguistic faculties revealed certain peculiar shortcomings, partly because of how their speech organs were fashioned, and partly for more psychological reasons; thus they found long, polysyllabic words hard to pronounce and tried to reduce them to a single syllable, which they uttered abruptly and rather raucously; they would pronounce *l* instead of *r* and had rather lisping sibilants...'.⁸ It is not important that this describes an unreal, science-fiction situation; the phonetic and logopedic problem is technically well introduced (as much of Čapek's technical, semi-technical or quasi-technical input in his literary works) and contributes to the overall characterization of the salamanders and the broad description of the whole salamander realm.

The Czechs' 'national' novelist Alois Jirásek (1851-1930) introduces a case of dumbness in his novel *F.L. Věk*.⁹ In it the young Paula Butteauová is first described as 'just deep in thought'. Then, in the family circle, she 'nods' to questions, and is 'evidently pleased' to receive a present; in short she responds to stimuli, but never speaks (vol.1,

⁷ *Válka s mloky*, published in instalments in *Lidové noviny*, 1935-36; in book form Brno, 1936 (six editions in that year; full publishing history in Boris Mědílek *et al.*: *Bibliografie Karla Čapka: soupis jeho díla*, Prague, 1990, pp.310, 410-12; English translations *ibid.*, p.468).

⁸ 6th edition (Brno, 1936), pp.207-08.

⁹ Published in five parts (1888-1905). Quotations will be from the collected works edition published in Prague, 1953. The novel was turned into a television serial, sometimes compared for its success to the television version of *The Forsyte Saga*.

pp.93-94). Once, when Věk arrives and tries to engage her in conversation, it finally transpires that she actually cannot speak. 'At that point he [Věk] broke off involuntarily, watching the girl, who with a slight shrug smiled sadly, placed her right index finger on her lips and glanced towards the next room' (p.102). The reader's suspicion that she may be dumb is at once confirmed by her mother: 'Poor thing, she can't speak, you see. She lost her speech when she was ten' (ibid.).

The psychological effect of Paula's condition on her milieu, especially its effect on Věk, is also hinted at by the author. Věk pities her and naturally wants to know how she lost her speech, but cannot bring himself to ask. Later, alone with her mother, he does. At first he is given just a brief summary: 'She had a fright. She was so terribly frightened that she couldn't utter a word, and hasn't uttered one since' (p.122). Finally Věk and reader learn what exactly had happened: 'Mrs Butteauová continued talking, at great length, saying how good Paula had been at school, industrious, even ambitious, but she had had a dreadfully strict teacher, so nasty that the children trembled in fear of him and his cane. "He was always hitting them, and if he didn't have his cane or birch to hand and if the culprits were sitting somewhere in the middle, then this teacher would even jump up on the desk and running up and down it dish out cuffs left and right, even with his big ring or tobacco pouch, and would pull the pupils' hair. One day, without reason, he set about Paula, who had never been beaten and never even been cuffed around the ears. But the teacher, angered by others, flew into such a rage and was so blind that, ignoring Paula's tears and her frightened face, jumped in fury onto her desk, since she was sitting in the middle, and went for her without even calling on her to leave the room. And he gave her such a beating that she has never spoken since. If she tries to speak, she is seized with a convulsion," Mrs Butteauová explained, "and it's the most awful stuttering, and you can't make head or tail of it. So the poor thing doesn't even try to speak"' (pp.122-23).

Thus the problem is gently incorporated into a long and complex narrative, without analysis or commentary. Yet the approach to describing the nature and origin of the problem is not unlike that of Veselý's purely didactic tale about Viera. As the novel progresses, the paths of Jirásek and Veselý diverge. In Viera we observe the whole process of the return to health and the influences that contribute to it. In Paula we merely hear that nothing could be done about her condition (which at the time was probably true): 'We saw lots of [doctors], but to no avail. None of them knew what to do. It's because of some terrible fright, they would say sagely and earnestly. We knew that much anyway. There's no way of helping her, said others.'... 'Others said it would correct itself in time...' (p.123). But Paula's fate was not so fortunate as Viera's. And yet her speech was restored — as she gave birth to a son. Within the novel it was a mixed blessing, but it does provide a literary example of the spontaneous psycho-physiological relief of a speech defect. 'Our arts are no good. But it is possible. Thámová (Paula) lost her speech thanks to a serious mental disturbance, while she was still a child, and now, in childbed, another surge of emotion has brought it back,' says

the doctor (vol.3, p.6).

In all the works mentioned so far, matters of interest to speech therapists or phoneticians have been relevant to the stories in which they occur, whatever the reason or reality behind them. They all contain several well observed and substantiated facts familiar to specialists in the relevant fields. My final remarks relate to a work where some of the assertions made are rather less than substantiated, reflecting as they do the ignorance or innocence of an earlier period.

Josef Jungmann (1773-1847), who was at school at a period only slightly later than the real Paula Butteauová,¹⁰ reports in one short memoir that he used to stammer.¹¹ Interestingly, he blame it on the school regime, a possibility that we might readily concede in that 'Victorian' era, given the additional evidence of Jirásek's essentially biographical novel. It is also apparent in Jungmann's 'note' that in addition to the brutality of some teachers there could have been another influence that contributed to the deterioration of his speech, namely the period competition between two languages, Czech and German. Jungmann's own conclusion is formulated in somewhat surprising terms: 'If my teachers at the time had punished me, kept telling me off or at least just rebuked me for such an obvious failing, I would surely have mastered the habit of speaking slowly and intelligibly, but they would praise me just for gabbling through a given task quickly. With a clear conscience I can say that later, when a teacher myself, I would not put up with (*netrpěl*) such gabbling from my pupils. For much later, as an adult, I still felt sometimes the awful consequence of this habit.'¹² He does not record the method of correction which he applied, but it is to be hoped his pupils were not made to suffer by any excess of punishment; guidance in the direction of having his pupils try to slow down would be the right line to have followed (and he does appear to attribute the problem chiefly to speed of delivery), but that would hardly constitute the 'punishment' which he implies he meted out.

¹⁰ For *F.L. Věk* is based on the life and times of the 'awakener' František Vladislav Hek (1769-1847), a merchant of Dobruška and author of a book of memoirs (in German).

¹¹ 'Koktání', from *Zápisky* (Notes), first complete publication in two parts in *Časopis Musea Království Českého*, 1871 (pp.260-86, 335-58; with an editorial note on the pre-history of the 'Notes' on pp.258-59); 'Koktání' is on pp.342-43. *Zápisky* later appeared in book form (Prague, 1907), with 'Koktání' on pp.68-69, and was then reissued to coincide with the bicentenary of Jungmann's birth (Prague, 1973); in this edition 'Koktání' is on pp.19-21. It is not known for certain whether Jungmann's *koktání* really means stammering, the normal modern translation of the word (= *balbuties*), or gabbling (= *tumultus sermonis*), though the latter perhaps accords better with his own opening description of the condition: *kvapné zajikavé mluvení, koktání* (*praecipitatio*).

¹² p.21 in the 1973 edition.

THE WESTERNIZATION OF CZECH AND ESTONIAN IN COMMERCE AND ADVERTISING SINCE THE “VELVET” AND “SINGING” REVOLUTIONS¹

(with Ülle Männart, University of Tartu).

The economic policy of the Czechoslovak federal government (and now of the government of the Czech Republic), and of the post-revolutionary Estonian government, has, in a nutshell, been to switch, as rapidly as practicable, from a socialist command economy to a free-market capitalist economy. Among the more striking aspects of this to the British observer is the great faith in the ‘Thatcherite model’: the name of Mrs Thatcher often crops up, usually in tones of hushed respect, in conversation with private individuals (so many of whom class themselves as ‘businessmen’, ‘entrepreneurs’ [*podnikatelé/ettevõtjad*]², even if they are no more so than the British one-man ‘company director’), and even from the lips of such as Czech Prime Minister Václav Klaus and, when in office, his opposite number, Mart Laar.³ The idea of the ‘iron lady’, still often perceived in Eastern and Central Europe as the one person who put the British economy to rights — almost once for all, quite ignoring subsequent difficulties — carries almost more than anything else the promise of the future prosperity of all who believe in her. Later, and possibly even more visibly, the physiognomy and ideas of a young Czech economist who made claims to a Harvard background and who was therefore also trusted as an oracle of economic wellbeing, came to the fore, frequently expounding his views on Czech television.

We are not economists and therefore make no attempt to analyse the evolutionary details of the two countries’ economic policy, but it must already be clear that Czech and

¹ This preliminary study originated in a seminar paper given at SSEES, limited at the time to the evidence of Czech; it was then expanded in order to verify the hypothesis that languages developing and changing under similar historical circumstances would reveal certain parallels. This version has been slightly amended here from the article published in *Slovo*, Vol.7, 2 (October 1994), pp.9-22.

² Unless indicated otherwise, such pairs of expressions are given in the order Czech/Estonian.

³ Mr Laar made one such allusion at a lecture given at the Royal Society of Arts on 10 May 1994; the lecture was sponsored by the Centre for Policy Studies and was chaired by Mrs Thatcher herself.

Estonian have necessarily become permeated with a new range of proper names, reflecting the 180° change of direction. There is nothing surprising in this, but for the fullness of the statement it is worth mentioning. In sum, Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Soviet Union disappeared; Thatcher, Harvard, Wall Street, Keynes and others replaced them. Equally obviously, there can be no current reference to obsolete organizations, such as *Varšavská smlouva/Varssavi pakt* 'Warsaw Pact' or *RVHP/VMN* 'Comecon'; they were effectively replaced, in general terms, by *Nato* and *Evropa/Euroopa*, meaning Western Europe generally, the European Union in particular; the extra load that the latter word has come to carry is that which it acquired in Western Europe itself first — a particular set of trading and quality standards. 'Europe' in this sense is like heaven, a place you move 'up' to,⁴ or at least a desirable goal.

The languages at the same time saw the obviously necessary departure of such once common expressions as, say, *soudruh/seltsimees* 'comrade' and their replacement by expressions commensurate with the new society, in this case *pan/härä* 'Mr' and *paní/proua* 'Mrs'. Similarly, the older, though essentially neutral, words *podnik/ettevõte* 'enterprise' were replaced by *akciová společnost* and *aktsiaselts* '(joint-stock) company' or Cz./Est. *firma*. With private enterprise there was also a rise in banking, stockbroking, etc., and in this area it might be fairest to speak of 'internal Westernization', since much of the newly needed terminology in these spheres is that which was in use in the respective pre-war Republics, which, in their day, were as 'western' as the term was meaningful then. More conspicuously in Estonian than Czech, the inter-war terminology in these spheres, often of German origin, or with German as the mediator, is being replaced by (often unaltered) English terms, such as *discount* for *rabatt*, or *broker* (but estonianized in its pronunciation) for *maakler* (Cz. *makléř* survives). These are some of the most visible changes and are not very illuminating, since similar things have happened elsewhere in the East European languages.

Many of the signs of westernization are, as in the areas already mentioned, merely words, largely nouns, needed to convey new realities. Of these, large numbers are direct borrowings. One that is central to new methods of commercial activity, necessarily involving Western companies, is that splendid general term *joint-venture*, in some situations commoner than its literal translations (*společný podnik/ühisettevõte*); others are the very names of those foreign companies which are held in awe for their sheer economic might, and assumed quality, and for the good that their input might do for host economies: Volkswagen, Mercedes, Ford, Siemens, Tetrapak, Electrolux, MacDonald, Avon and all the Japanese and other computer firms. Not so much talked about, but very much in evidence, are multinationals of other sorts: Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola and (in the Czech Republic) Herbalife,

⁴ Hence such slogans as Cz. *Vzhůru do Evropy!* 'Upwards to Europe!', or Est. *Oleme teel Euroopasse* 'We're on the way to Europe', also *Olgem eestlased, aga saagem eurooplasteks* 'Let's be Estonians, but let's become Europeans'.

BP or Benetton. Benetton is conspicuous for keeping its sole slogan in English on its posters, wherever they might be posted (*United Colours of Benetton*), while Ford, Avon Cosmetics, Whiskas and Coca-Cola trade on literal translations of their current slogans. Some company names (especially cars and drinks) have become coextensive with the brands of goods they represent; others have penetrated the general awareness along with their product names, e.g. Sterling Health, Procter and Gamble side by side with their respective brands of headache pills, toothpastes or washing powders.

Procter and Gamble became particularly heavily represented in Czech TV commercials (they are known to have paid out most, and for the longest advertising slots at peak times), but as a genre such commercials retained a novelty value for quite some time, so people would, in the early years, watch them, but largely to make fun of them — in part they were (and perhaps still are) badly translated (commercials being often no more than dubbed versions of British, German or Austrian, or Finnish or Swedish commercials), in part the claims made for products, to which people in the West are now perhaps inured, can still raise a smile or grimace on Czech lips. The very phrase *Procter & Gamble*, like *Wash-'n-go* or *Whiskas* (and anything else with a well-imitated *w* — an alien sound in Czech and Estonian) could be heard in conversation all over the place, being quoted in every mood from amusement to scorn. In Estonia, with its relatively smaller market, the multinationals are less in evidence overall, but TV commercials for pet-foods, which are relatively expensive to the locals, are a source of some bitterness among the older generation and considerable amusement among the young — and journalists, who have made them the source of numerous jokes.⁵ In both countries the products are, however, bought, so the advertising agencies can be pleased that a mark was made, if not solely to the intended effect. Another feature of Estonia is the strength of smaller, more local 'Westernizers': Statoil and Neste (the Norwegian and Finnish petrol companies), Sandvik and Swedeco from Sweden and all manner of Finnish and Swedish exporters of coffee, cosmetics, electrical tools, machinery, sweets and chewing gum.

People in both countries freely absorb commercial novelties — and the language that

⁵ One Estonian petfood-inspired joke concerns an infamous clergyman-politician. He is a shareholder in the Moe distillery, a wealthy man with eight children, and a renowned philanderer. A 1993 cartoon showing him and a well-known female TV presenter had the caption: *Hallaste ja Aunaste sõidavad koos Kanaari saartele. Hallaste hoolitseb Aunaste eest viiel erineval moel* '(Rev.) Hallaste and (Ms) Aunaste are going together to the Canary Islands. H. looks after A. in five different ways', i.e. as Chappi looks after your pet. Some products and their names became targets for more innocent comparison and even symbols of supposed absolute quality, hence the Libuš meat-processing company in Prague advertised *hamburgery jako od MacDonalda* 'Hamburgers like from MacDonald's'. In a different area, the claims made for some of the many competing feminine hygiene products early proved an 'easy' source of jokes for the Czechs; the Estonians were about eighteen months behind.

goes with them — through the hugely popular cable and satellite TV channels, in addition to the local national media.

The type of language used in advertising, while so familiar in English, still has an air of novelty, in fact unreality, in Czech and Estonian — it had not been used for the purpose before; a whole new language register emerged and simply sounded quaint. It is difficult to convey this beyond inviting the reader to strip himself of a lifetime's experience of exposure to advertising and imagine what this sudden immersion must be like. But, to take one extreme Czech example: imagine you are suddenly expected to pay for a present (as its recipient); you would probably find it an odd notion, 'pay for' and 'present' being basically incompatible notions; yet we have long lived with the notion of the 'free gift' that accompanies a paid-for product, the incongruity of which has become lost on us. However, as an advertising ploy the *dárek zdarma* 'free gift' sometimes to be seen offered in Czech newspaper advertisements could not fail to strike the reader with the full force of that incongruity.

Remaining in the realm of brand-names and advertising, it is interesting to see what various multinationals (the Westernizers par excellence) do about their slogans. We have noted that Benetton keeps its slogan unchanged, perhaps because any translation would probably produce a nonsense, whatever candidate for 'united' one might use. On the other hand, some slogans work very well, even if not quite in the same way as their English counterparts (we ignore here the influence of German sources, though it is probably true to say that many recent 'Anglicisms' are actually entering Czech and/or Estonian via German, and in German mutations of the English). Thus Ford's 'Everything we do is driven by you', one of many punning slogans, comes out successfully in Czech as *Všechno, co děláme, řídíte Vy*, with perhaps a slight shift from 'do' to 'make', and from 'drive' to 'control' or 'govern', in other words the pun is still there, but the dominant meaning in English becomes — possibly — the secondary one in Czech and vice versa. Volkswagen produced an even more telling pun in Estonian, based on *sõidurõõm*, merging, through *võidurõõm*, the ideas of 'driving' and 'triumph'. On the other hand the punning *Have a break, have a Kitkat*, which the English shopper knows is a pun from the snapping of the bar, turns up lamely in Czech as *Dej si pauzu, dej si Kitkat*, which preserves only the pause-from-activity meaning of 'break'. Similarly, Est. *Avon hoolitseb* 'Avon cares' lacks the ambiguity of the English source (it ignores the company's charitable activities). Wordplay itself was initially not a conspicuous feature of Czech or Estonian linguistic invention, but a start has been made: Gambrinus beer of Pilsen has traded on the slogan *Někdo to rád hořké* ('Some like it bitter'), which has only one diacritic separating it from the Czech title of *Some like it hot* ('Někdo to rád horké').⁶ Most people will have got the allusion, while the same probably cannot be

⁶ Another Czech beer slogan surfaced slightly later, the product being described as *Smetana mé vlasti* 'The cream of my homeland', which neatly stands 'Smetana's Má vlast'

said of the allusive name of one Náchod language school, *Gate*, despite the fact that the allusive force is undoubtedly to a Czech source, namely the seventeenth-century Comenius' *Brána jazyků otevřená* ('The Gate of Languages Opened'). Such overt intellectualizing is a rare phenomenon. Other language schools, like many other types of organization, rely on plain English, such as the *London School* in Prague. Interlingual punning of a different order can also be found, as in Toyota's Czech slogan: *Toyota, to jo*, roughly 'Toyota, you bet!', while Mitsubishi seems to have appreciated the potential for associating the company name with the Czech superlative, ending in *-ejší*. There is some invention also in native Estonian advertising, but one 1993 example may be taken to illustrate the simultaneous use of graphics: the (astronomical) Milky Way is called *linnatee* 'bird way', so birds feature in the graphics of a relevant advert. Decomposition of the name of a butter-substitute spread, *Võideks*, provided (1995) a punning, if rather meaningless, slogan, *Sa ju võid. eks?! 'You can, can't you?'*. The brand name itself hints at the word for butter (*või*) and possibly carries an echo of a popular Finnish competitor, *Voimix*.

When it comes to naming new items in simple terms the lexicon of receiving languages can be a bit of a letdown. Mars, as the reader knows, is a 'bar'. Short stubby bars, like gold bars, would in Czech be *prut*, but the primary meaning of *prut* is 'rod', as in the steel rods of reinforced concrete or the water-diviner's rod — in essence very hard or longish things. A word that does for other rod-like things is *tyč*, though that covers fence stakes as well; a derivative of it, which actually is used for relatively delicate rod-like things, notably cheese-straws (and twiglets etc.), and the stamen of flowers, is *tyčinka*, and it is this word which has come to be applied to Mars bars, which are neither tiny or flimsy. Thus an innocent Czech word has gained a quite new dimension firstly through the exigencies of translating foreign adverts. It is an attempt at calquing, and, like the 'free gift', is not entirely successful; yet it has undoubtedly assured the increased breadth of the word from now on, if only because there are now so many similar bars on the Czech market, including Czech-made products of a similar kind, such as the delicious, and delightfully named, muesli bar *Twiggy* (a name with its own long-thin reference). Estonian bars have had to make do with the relatively rare *batoon* or the common-or-garden non-shape-specific *šokolaad*.

At least there is a new denotate for *tyčinka* to apply to, but other words, though potentially existing, are totally redundant and their occurrence is then an example of the voluntarily slavish attitude to 'all things foreign' that is replacing the earlier subservience to 'all things Russian/ Soviet'; a case in point is the Czech word *industriální*, which has nothing to offer that is not fully catered for by the older, innocent (i.e. non-Communist) word *průmyslový*. Its emergence is, however, probably due to laziness in calquing from German, full of its compounds with *Industrie-*. Similar remarks apply to *personální* in *personální počítač*, since *osobní* is entirely adequate; the extra failing is that while *industriální* does

mean 'industrial', *personální* ought to be to do with 'personnel'. Another word that mushroomed in the early 1990s is *prezentace*: it had long been around (even before as a redundant loan) to denote 'registration' (i.e. presenting oneself, registering one's presence), especially at conferences. Now, with endless Western companies giving 'presentations' of themselves and their products there was a problem of what to call them. It appears that *prezentace* has won, but that in-built resistance in some speakers led to happier, if not ideal alternatives, such as *předváděcí akce*, actually closer to, and probably including, 'demonstration'. In Estonian, the same solution has been adopted, with *presentatsioon*, though here it is an entirely new word; it co-exists with the native *esitus/esitus*, calqued onto the native verb meaning 'to present'. Other words and phrases of a similar order include: Cz. *komerce* (but not Est. *kommerts*, which is long established in a range of predictable meanings) and *komerčně atraktivní* (also Est. *atraktiivne*), Cz. *cereální* (as describing the Twiggy *tyčinka*), *lukrativní* (applied to all manner of activities, but also *lukrativní jazyky* 'lucrative languages'!).

Calquing, which is the process of imitation which bore *tyčinka*, is everywhere, sometimes totally literal and producing some ugly, not to say cumbersome neologisms: Cz. *samoopalovací krém* for 'self-tanning creme' (actually more meaningful, less nonsensical than the English). The 'self' notion in Estonian is sometimes conveyed by the prefix *ise-*, when the function is truly reflexive; otherwise many items rely on the alien elements *auto-* (also in Cz.) or *selve-*. Owing to general word-formation structures in Estonian, none of these are felt cumbersome. In the (actually pre-1990) Cz. calque *lov na mozky*, for 'head-hunting', the punning allusion to certain primitive societies has been dropped, the over-material word *hlava* 'head' has been replaced by 'brain', and the whole at least has some semantic reference internal to Czech through the earlier, though actually less happy calque *unikání mozků* 'brain drain' (lit. 'leak'). 'Head-hunting' in Estonian has not turned up yet, but *inimjaht* 'manhunt', or *ajudejaht* 'brains hunt' would be good candidates (if one were to dare to make such predictions); 'brain-drain' is more literally *ajude äravool*.

In Czech, some calquing leads to the many kinds of innovation (or mushrooming of rare though existing patterns) in word-formation that have been widely written about (mostly to attack), and this is not the place to go into all of them — they do not all turn up in commerce and advertising. However, there are a few gems, such as *množstevní slevy* or *rabaty* 'discount on bulk purchases', literally 'quantity reductions',⁷ in which the innovation is the combination of the particular adjective-forming suffix *-ní* and the underlying noun to which it has been attached, marked by the suffix *-ství*. The prototype for this formation is a noun that happens to be from a large family of words ending in the suffix *-stvo*, only one

⁷ This type of reduction was slower to appear in Estonia, but by 1994 Coca-Cola was offering ten per cent discounts for four-packs; the expression of the idea is linguistically unexceptionable: *nelikpakend soodsamalt* 'four-pack 10% more advantageous'.

of which shows this type of adjective formation, namely *družstvo* and its compounds; the irony is that *družstvo* is, not entirely fairly, strongly associated with the previous, pre-1990 social order. A related, though formally different, problem relates to the word *domácnostní* in combination with *zápalky*, giving 'household matches'. (Another instance of infelicitous word-formation of the same kind is *pozornostní hodnota 1. stránky obálky časopisu* 'the attention value of the first page of a magazine cover'.) The matches phrase has been around at least since the 1970s, but it still strikes some users as an unnatural formation; it exists as the adjectivalization of *domácnost* 'household'. Their necessity is what is called into question. Might not *domácí zápalky* do? Should Czech make do with the more complex, though more traditional, type of phrase *zápalky pro domácnost* (unobjectionable), *slevy za větší zakoupené množství* (distinctly wordy), i.e. prepositional phrases? That question is wrongly put. It is not for linguists or others to dictate how far a language may or should not imitate foreign models; arguments should rather be found in defence of novelties (or against them), explaining their assets or shortcomings, or, despite fears of linguistic anarchy, things should be allowed to take their course and live or die as the language evolves. Czech linguists dismiss at least the two types quoted here as ill-formed, or plain bad. A happier innovation, *přeshraniční (obchod)* 'cross-border (trade)', at least has an analogue in the very old *přespolní*, lit. 'cross-field', referring to people from another parish. Estonian, a language in which compounding is in any case highly developed, does not seem to have produced many particular objectionable neologisms of this order. What it is expanding in is portmanteau compounds or phrases, such as *full-service trükikoda* 'printing house offering all services', *softifirma* 'software firm' (using the remarkably economical *softi* for the earlier *software* or *tarkvara*), *lemmikloomade hotell* ('pet hotel'), *autopesula topless-show'ga* (or, more economically, *topless-autopesula*) 'car-wash serviced by underclad young women', *diskreetne boutique* (< old internationalism + French), *charterreis* (English + old German loan) 'charter trip', *turismibisnis* 'tourism, the travel business', *dumpinghinnad* 'dumping prices' or *sandwichi saiad* 'filled roll', some of which also have Czech equivalents (*dumpingové ceny*). Unchanged borrowings are fully and easily integrated morphologically, hence *Avon lady'd* 'Avon ladies', creating portmanteaux of a different order.

Interference from outside, through commercial, diplomatic and so linguistic contact, has always been a fact of life of languages; overstrong rulings from academies have not always worked, though rational, calm advice often has. Since the revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe, so much is new that all manner of formal and lexical innovations are springing up. The expression *cash-flow* is a good example. For a while it stayed in that alien form in Czech — as a string of sounds which had meaning only to those who needed to use the expression. Then along came a literal translation — *peněžní tok*, which like the case of *tyčinka* above extended the semantics or metaphorical loading to the word *tok*, hitherto used for water or electrons or speech, and closer in fact to 'stream'. But 'flow' is a little like 'tide': there is an incoming and an outgoing to it, so in the fullness of time the new Czech expression developed a plural, *peněžní toky*. Estonian *cash-flow* seemed at first to be more

resilient, while the calque *kassavoog* (sg.), *kassavood* (pl.) was largely confined to a narrow circle of specialists (for example, accountants); it has not, in the end, survived. But once an neologism does assert itself, it may serve as a model, hence we now have the expressions *zbožové toky/kaubavood* 'the flow of goods'. Any objections here on the Czech side are not to the metaphor in *toky*, but to yet another innovatory type of adjective formation from yet another awkward class of neuter nouns. What this particular adjective does is use the most neutral adjective suffix *-ový* to replace the previously used *-ní*, which in the past gave *zbožní*, which was always a little problematic because of its close similarity to, and occasional potential overlap with, *zbožný* 'pious'!⁸ The all-present adjective suffix *-ový* also turns up in other calques: a glance at the television page in some Czech papers will reveal *programový průvodce* 'programme guide'. This is really new: *průvodce* hitherto was a two-legged guide or a guide-book, so this is another word whose meaning is expanding: *programový* had been the adjective that went with the noun *program* in its meanings of a political party's programme, or platform, or to do with computer programmes. In the latter sense the recommended phrase *programové vybavení*, literal 'programme equipment, furnishing' has almost been expelled by the alien *softvér/software*, while from the sense of fitting in with a programme, or set of party political measures, beliefs, etc., *programový* became a general word roughly equivalent to 'programmatic', which could be negative or positive according to context. Given that *programový* will also be the adjective from *program* = '(TV) channel' we can see that its original meaning(s) are not only broadened at a general level, but actually added to.

The direct interference of a particular foreign language turns up in more obvious ways than borrowing, calquing or extending the meanings of existing words to match similar extensions in parallel foreign contexts. One type noticeably on the increase is the inclusion of brand-names ahead of the phrase describing the product, which in Czech is odd; normally Czech has to have such items following, since that is the established place for what are in effect 'citation forms'. Thus *program MicroStation* or *nanukové dorty Mrazík* 'Frosty ice-cream gateaux' are unobjectionable, while *Vevay samoopalovací krém* is alien. However, there is perhaps a body of Czech speakers to whom this enhanced foreignness in an advertisement for a foreign product has a primitive appeal; certainly some advertisers think they will do better by going even further and actually adding foreign-language text to their adverts thus producing multilingual copy: *Nákup přímo u výrobce//Einkauf direkt beim*

⁸ The adverb derived from *zbožní* and *zbožný*, namely *zbožně*, was exactly the same, and the old Communist economic term *zbožně peněžní vztahy* (quoted in the standard Czech dictionary) could hardly fail to elicit an interpretation along the lines 'piously pecuniary attitudes', more appropriate to misers than economists. In other words, there is understandable internal pressure within Czech that favours the new *zbožový* even despite its unusual formation. The formation is not actually without precedent, since Czech has long had *poschod'ový* 'double-deck', 'two-storey' and several compounds of it, as well as one or two other derivatives from nouns in *-í*.

Hersteller//Concerning the purchase contact directly the producer (sic) — this in a small regional free newspaper, likely to be seen by no English-speaking would-be purchaser of grand pianos. A particularly extreme example of how ‘important’ foreign-language texts seem to be is the packet, illustrated below, that once held a flea-collar.

Completely or almost unaltered Anglicisms abound, some in new company names (Cz. *Hobit*, Est. *Finest Fashions*, *Makarov Muusik Management*, *Ekspress Hotline*), others for items where their use can only be — again — to appeal to the less sophisticated: Cz./Est. *shops*, Cz. *gifts*, *last minute*, Est. *service*, *lifestyle*, *college/kolledzh*, Cz./Est. *secondhand*. Two main items are currently sold secondhand in a big way in both countries, namely cars and clothes, but the English word applies only to clothes in Czech. In Estonian it may apply to all manner of things, but for clothes a native expression has taken over: *kasutatud* (‘used’) *riided*.

Some areas of trade are entirely new, for example, estate agencies, and this needs some new expressions for which foreign sources do not necessarily offer much help. Hence, for example, for the simple ‘sole agency discount’ of English, Czech is still groping badly. One attempt is *odměna za kompletní obstarání prodeje*. Unlike other items discussed here, this one really needs to be seen in context for a full appreciation of what it seeks to say. It is certainly very Czech in the use of the word *obstarání* (notoriously difficult to translate; here perhaps ‘handling’), very ‘modern’ in the use of the word *kompletní*, but very peculiar in the use of the word *odměna*, which means ‘reward’, ‘remuneration’: the person to be rewarded is the house-seller, not the agency, yet as it stands the ‘reward’ is for what the agency will have done, i.e. the sale.

Banking is another new sphere which has bred new language needs, though many are merely pre-war terms revived. The cash-dispenser was obviously not known before the war and needed a name. Cz. *bankomat* was an easy borrowing (though not from English) and at least has a predecessor in *automat*, the whole of which appears in Est. *pangaautomaat* or *sularahaautomaat* (described as ripe for truncation). Estonian has also introduced *teller* and *treasury*. Of the various new *platební karty* ‘payment cards’, the *kreditkarta/krediitkaart* is the best known. This is only the informal name in Czech — slightly too Germanic perhaps, so *kreditní karta* is the formal term. Estonians may carry an *automaadikaart* for the cash dispenser.

The organization of companies may similarly survive terminologically with native words, but some represent expansions of existing words (Cz. *skupina* ‘group’, *divize* ‘division’, *fúze* ‘merger’; contrast Est. *grupp/group*), while others are borrowed because of new methods and a new ethos; this applies to the language of *marketing* (Cz./Est.) and most especially *management* (Cz./Est.). The latter word has quickly gone from the abstract sense (how to manage) to the meaning of a body of people (the management, managers) to uses

outside the original domain (as when a certain engine oil helps Czechs with *management vašeho motoru* — apparently a German extension of the English word). Many types of managers keep their English names, at least in job advertisements and on visiting cards.

Of the various new means of advertising, some are very conspicuous: the sides of Czech buses and trams are widely used to advertise cigarettes and computers; in Estonia the emphasis is on soft drinks; Czech matchboxes and telephone cards are a popular source of soft-porn ads for gentlemen's reading matter, clubs or *sexshopy* (Est. *seks-shopid*). Hoardings managed by agencies are all over the place. Personalized car numbers employable theoretically to advertise are as yet unknown (the system of registration would make it very difficult), but at least one Czech plane registration is used for a commercial purpose, namely OK-GEO, which belongs to GEOS (a firm of surveyors).

It has been said of the language of totalitarian society that it was heavily dependent on sporting, technical and military metaphor, built into countless clichés, which by their frequent repetition reinforced conformity. It was also known for what have been called fallacious euphemisms (Cz. *vstup spřátelených vojsk* 'entry of fraternal troops', *maďarské události* 'the Hungarian events', *naš velký přítel* 'our great friend (= USSR)'; Est. *sõbralik vennasrahvas* 'friendly brother-nation (= Russians)', 1968. *aasta sündmused tšehhoslovakkias* 'the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia', *vabastajad* 'liberators' (= Russians in 1944). Some of the sporting and other metaphors survive, either from momentum, or because they were, and are, not in fact the sole preserve of totalitarian regimes. One new Czech metaphor, widely used in debates surrounding the privatization process, is *rodinné stříbro* 'the family silver'. Other new clichés, also much repeated, now serve to reinforce the sense of the desirability of the new society and economy (Cz. *filozofie trhu*, Est. *turufilosoofia* 'market philosophy', Cz./Est. *know-how*). Fallacious euphemisms are also still to be found, if in new contexts: Cz. *úprava cen* 'price adjustment' = *zdražení* 'price increase' (reductions are properly called *zlevnění*); *export speciální techniky* 'the export of special technology' for *vývoz zbraní a výzbroje* 'export of arms and [military] equipment'; Est. *strateegilised kaubad* 'strategic goods' = 'metals'). And if in the past there were buzzwords and buzz-expressions like 'democracy', 'socialism', 'building socialist society' and so forth, now we have *podnikám/mul on oma äri* 'I'm in business', *podnikatel/ettevõtja* 'entrepreneur', Cz. *recyklace/recycling*, *ekologicky nezávadné/ökoloogiliselt ohutu/puhas* 'ecologically harmless' or 'clean' = 'environmentally friendly' (for which Estonian also has a new literal equivalent [calque]: *keskkonnasõbralik*); *evropský/euroopa-* 'European', *tržní/turu-* 'market'.

The language of advertising in particular has adopted every version of Western hyperbole: more and more things are *unikátní*, *exkluzivní*, *speciální* or just *special* or *super* in Czech, *originaalne* or *eksklusiivne* in Estonian, or, using the native lexicon, Cz. *nejlepší* 'best', Est. *ainulaadne* 'unique', *kuum* 'hot', *tipptasemel* 'top-level', *võrratu* 'incomparable'. Cz. *super* gives rise to a range of new portmanteau words (*supernabídka*).

The general picture of the Czech and Estonian of commerce and advertising is one of lazy and/or anarchic, but certainly brisk borrowing and imitation, with extra anarchy in Czech phraseology and word-formation. This is in part to do with the social reality that many unskilled writers have found their way into both commercial journalism and advertising and that translation of foreign advertising material has not proved easy; the translators themselves have sometimes been seduced by the language of their (foreign) clients. Many of the factors involved apply equally to areas of language outside commerce and advertising, most notably provincial journalism. To summarize and characterize the languages broadly we would have to note at least the following:

- a) Replacement of Russianisms by Westernisms of all kinds;
- b) Increase in hyperbole;
- c) Imitative product labelling (non-linguistic communication through pictures, the type of information conveyed and so on);
- d) Import of genuine new words and phrases for new realities: Cz./Est. *leasing*, Est. *factoring*, Cz./Est. *dealer* (motor trade, computers; banking; also Estonianized as *diiler*), Cz./Est. *snack-bar* (or Est. *-baar*), Cz./Est. *image* (later Est. *imidž*), Cz. *blistr* 'blister pack', replacing the infinitely more complex *průhledná plastová vanička na kartonu*; *digitální paging*; *helioport*; Cz./Est. *portfolio*, *clearing/kliiring*, Est. *holding company* (since replaced by *holdingfirma* and calqued as *katusfirma* 'roof firm'), *portfolio*, *off-shore firma*, *showbusiness*, *lifestyle*, *pleier* (= 'player', i.e. personal stereo);
- e) Extension of existing meanings:
Cz. *originální*; *aktuální*, as in *aktuální nabídka* 'current offer'; *servis* = after-sales service; *televizní hra* (*hra* = game/play); *grafické periferie*; *ocenění* 'valuation' (e.g. land, property); *autorizovaný*, as in *a. dealer* (possibly = *smluvní prodejce*); Est. *originaalne*, and others quoted *passim*;
- f) Totally redundant borrowings (an old sin, and not all the examples are necessarily from the first three post-revolutionary years): Cz. *TV home shopping*; *komponenty* (TV etc. parts); *kompletní*, as in *kompletní optické služby* 'complete optical services'; *perfektní* (p. *ubytování* 'perfect accommodation' for pensioners in a private rest home); *destinace* (as in *služební cesty do všech evropských destinací* 'business trips to all European destinations'); and some redundant innovations, like *vkladová knížka* for the old *vkladní knížka*; *logistické studie*; Est. *authorised dealer* (now largely replaced by the calque *ametlik maaletooja* or *a. esindaja*); *office* (replacing the earlier import *kontor*; consider also the spread of *büroo*, and its inessive *büroos*, replacing *tööjuures*, 'at work'); *security*; *success story*,⁹ *bänd* ('pop group', for the earlier *ansambel*), *producer*;

⁹ As in the remarkable expression: *Ameerika disaini success-story'd* 'success stories of American design'.

- g) New compounds of various kinds, often portmanteau words:
Cz. *videoprogram*, *videorekordér*; *atabanka*; *bankomat*; *supernabídka*; Est. *reklaamipakett* 'advertising package'; *softipakett* 'software package', *laserplaat* 'CD'; Est. *paketiauto/pakiauto* 'van' (from Finnish, replacing the earlier *furgoonauto*, *pirukaauto* or *kaubaauto*), *moeshow* 'fashion show', *charter-reisid* 'charter flights'; *demoverzel/demoversioon* 'demo-version', *T-särk* 'T-shirt';
- h) Other dubious intrusions:
Cz. *agentážní činnost* '(lit. =) agency activity'; *sex-shop*, *erotic shop*, *teleshopping*; *secondhand*; Est. *lobby baar*, *tour operatoorid*; *diskreetne boutique*, and many Fennicisms: *tossud* 'trainers', *ale* 'sale'; *pusa* 'sweater', *telkar* 'telly'. Cz. *up* and Cz./Est. *in* 'in [fashion]' certainly belong in this category;
- i) New types of Czech verbs based on
a. nouns: Cz. *depytlovat brambor* ('unbag potatoes'; also the hybrid parallel noun *depytlace*); *premiérovat (operu)* 'to première'; *rozklíčovat (údaj)* 'decipher (a datum)'; *manažovat* < *management* etc.; *dokladovat* 'to back up with documents (< *doklady*)', *výukovat* 'to tutor' (< *výuka* 'tuition'); *obchodovat (cenné papíry)* 'to trade in (securities)', i.e. this is a transitive verb;
b. double prefixation (usually redundant, and not usually attributable to 'Westernisation'): *vydodat* 'supply, deliver', *rozposlat* 'distribute' (such types are found everywhere in the language: *vypostřehnout* 'register, spot', *donapravit* 'rectify [completely]', *rozpohybovat [tělo]* 'get [the body] moving');
- j) Increasing numbers of derived abstract nouns in Czech:
shlédnutelnost TV programů 'ratings'; *prosycenost informacemi* 'glut [saturatedness] of [with] information';
- k) The beginnings of non-sexist job adverts (not applicable in Estonian, which does not discriminate he/she anyway):
přijmeme hlavní(ho) účetní(ho);
- l) Innovative truncations in Estonian: *soft(i-)* 'software',¹⁰ *polo* 'polo-neck(-ed garment)', *mess* 'message (as left on an answering machine)', *klipp* (also Cz. *clip*), imitating a truncation also present in the probable donor language;
- m) Trendily archaic spellings in Estonian, whereby *ž* > *zh*, *š* > *sh*, e.g. *dzhäss* 'jazz'
- n) The obvious universally held faith that 'if it's foreign (Western) it must be good', whether the 'it' is a product, a name (*Color-car* - a Czech Nissan dealership), or a word, noun or adjective, to describe any product. In both languages this underlies such expressions as Cz. *světová* (or *evropská*) *kvalita za české peníze* 'world (or 'European') quality for Czech money', Est. *Maailmatasemel, eesti hindadega* 'world standards at Estonian prices', *Rootsi kvaliteet, eesti hinnad* 'Swedish [high] quality,

¹⁰ This widespread Estonian expression stands in contrast to its opposite - *raud* 'hard(ware)', lit. 'iron', replicating (coincidentally?) the earlier association between English 'hardware' and 'ironmongery'.

Estonian prices'.

And at a more abstract level:

1. A striking increase in words ending in *-ing*, through such ultimately English borrowings as Cz. *dealing, paging, leasing, consulting*, added to the previously adopted *marketing*; Est. *factoring*; also the growth in Est. *-atsioon: realisatsioon, presentatsioon* (while Cz. *-ace* has long been well established);
2. Vast increase in words in which there is no relationship between spelling and pronunciation (almost any of the Czech examples quoted will do, though there are some fully Czechicized forms: *byznysmen, čips* ['crisps'], *manažer*); Estonian, by a strong twentieth-century tradition, domesticates spellings quite early, e.g. *faks, teleks* and others already noted; many new imports still carry their full alien quality, but often side by side with Estonianized spellings: *bisnesmänn, mänedžer, mänedžment, imidž* (later replaced by *rimago*), *baarmen, reiting* ('rating'), *diiler*.
3. An increase in the range of indeclinable nouns in Czech (*cash-flow, know-how*); by contrast Estonian readily adapts any loan to existing patterns of inflection (*tšipsid* 'crisps', [shortlived] *cash-flow'd* 'cash-flows'); acronyms may resist declension: Est. *PR* (pron. [pi: er], not [pee err]; competes with calque *avalikud suhted*).
4. Increases in the general semantics and actual polysemy of new, or newly used items (Cz. *management, exkluzívní, design, tyčinka*; Est. *pakett, projekt, disain*).
5. Vacillation and/or ambiguity as new terms take time to settle in. The relationships between Cz. *dealer, prodejce, obchodník, byznysmen* and *podnikatel*, Est. *diiler, bisnesmänn* and *ettevõtja* and the English words 'dealer', 'trader', 'businessman' are a study in themselves, further compounded by the use of *dealing* (a term in banking and the stockmarket, but not the motor trade), the attrition of Cz. *prodavač*, and the intrusion of *byznys/biznes* as both a countable and non-countable noun.
6. Increasing numbers of masculine nouns in Czech which do not (yet?) lend themselves to feminization: *dealer, prodejce*; there have long been some, such as *lakomec, sirotek*, though the tendency for this to happen in Czech is strong enough to have produced some already even in the less recent past (*designérka*).
7. The increase in Czech of the formant *-cional-*, where most West-European languages would not predict it: *komeracionalizace, provincialismus*.
8. The different density of Western language interference in different spheres (maximum in computers and electronics generally, considerable in trading, language schools and the travel business, marginal in, say, estate agency work and almost absent from building materials [except for trade-names] or agriculture). The relative contribution of English or French via German in Czech and Estonian and of the Finnish element in Estonian would be topics for more detailed analysis.

Of the two languages Estonian seems to wear its new clothes more easily. This is

probably due to a longstanding in-built flexibility in both borrowing and neologizing. Morphologically it has so many more potential models than Czech for new forms to adapt to that few new items are linguistically problematic, apart from the obvious difficulty for the man in the street to whom the new concepts may remain opaque longer. Estonian also has the asset, not available to Czech, of the Finnish contribution to its deepening 'westernisation'. This process is comparable, if at all, to the early 19th-century expansion of the Czech lexicon where it drew on other Slavonic languages. No Slavonic-speaking neighbouring country had the appropriate capitalist background to perform this function again for Czech.

This preliminary study cannot be any more than surface-scratching and the authors acknowledge that a full appraisal of the subject will require much more systematic gathering and analysis of a broader swathe of data. We believe we have captured at least some of the ephemeral, if not permanent features of two of the languages affected by the demise of Communism.

Illustrations

UNITED
 FINANCE & BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT INC.
 Teie juht maksuvabas maailmas

**off-shore firmad &
 anonüümne pangandus**

Esindus Eestis Tel/Fax 6-311 063

Two banking advertisements One (above), apparently an American company, offers 'anonymous banking' and a home to 'off-shore companies'; the other (right), trading on Estonia's old Hanseatic associations, chants the virtues of a cash-card and gives the two relevant locations in Tartu.

HANSAPANK

Hansapanga AUTOMAADIKAART

võimaldab

- sularahaautomaadist raha välja võtta
- panga lahtiolekuaegadest sõltumata
- saada informatsiooni arveseisu ja
- seal toimunud liikumiste kohta

Automaadikaardi saab igäüks,

- kellel on meie pangas arvelduskonto
- kellele on tööandja avanud palgakonto

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23. PALMIR	37. Du darfst	51. WELLA FLEX	65. SWIRL	79. Kelllogg's SHACKS	93. Odol-med3	107. dusch das
29. MERRY MAIR	43. NESCAFÉ GOLD	57. WILCOX	71. Jumbo	85. bade das	99. Rama	113. R+V
35. Enter Rockbänker Doppelton	49. Lux	63. EIBNIZ	77. BACARDI	91. WISSULL	105. PITRALON	119. Kelllogg's FROSTIES
41. MECKES Edelkirsch	55. ROMIK	69. Toppits	83. Kelllogg's CORN FLAKES	97. Löwenherz	111. Norda	
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Enter to win just put 4 of the logos shown on a Postcard. You can use this coupon to the right. This coupon is valid until the following Monday. Employees working on SUPER LOGO LOTO or relatives of these employees are not eligible to enter in the draw. Winners are named by independent publishing and TV organizations. If you missed this week's deadline, you can join our next round. Good luck!

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Cut out this coupon and glue it to the back of the SUPER LOGO LOTO card. Good luck!

Czech game-card for a television lottery, based on active recognition of logos (native, foreign or multinational)

Super logo loto was the brain-child of a Prague-based German businessman, Martin Jakubowski; it was a mini-game show and was launched in no less than nine Central and Eastern European countries 'where companies are still stepping into the market' and 'brand loyalty has yet to take root'. (Source: *Prague Post*, 23 April-3 May 1994, p.10.)

TERE TULEMAST ILU MAAILMA!

AVON'i kosmeetikat on nüüd juba aasta müüdud Eestis. Ehk on see jõudnud juba ka Sinuni. Kui ei, siis nüüd on Sul hea võimalus sellega lähemalt tutvuda. Otsime aktiivseid müügiga tegelevaid inimesi, keda kutsutakse Avon lady'deks.

Ka sinust võib saada Avon lady

Sul on võimalus olla pidevalt hea kosmeetika keskel, kohata uusi inimesi, veeta meeldivalt ja kasulikult vaba aega ja ka veidi teenida.

TULE

AVON lady'ks
The Beauty Products

Kui oled huvitatud meie pakkumisest, siis helista juba täna
AS TRAVON

Tallinn	(8-26) 312070
Tartu	(8-25) 240425
Kuressaare	(8-25) 240427
Paide	(8-25) 240426
Pärnu	(8-244) 40237

AVON

HOOLITSEB

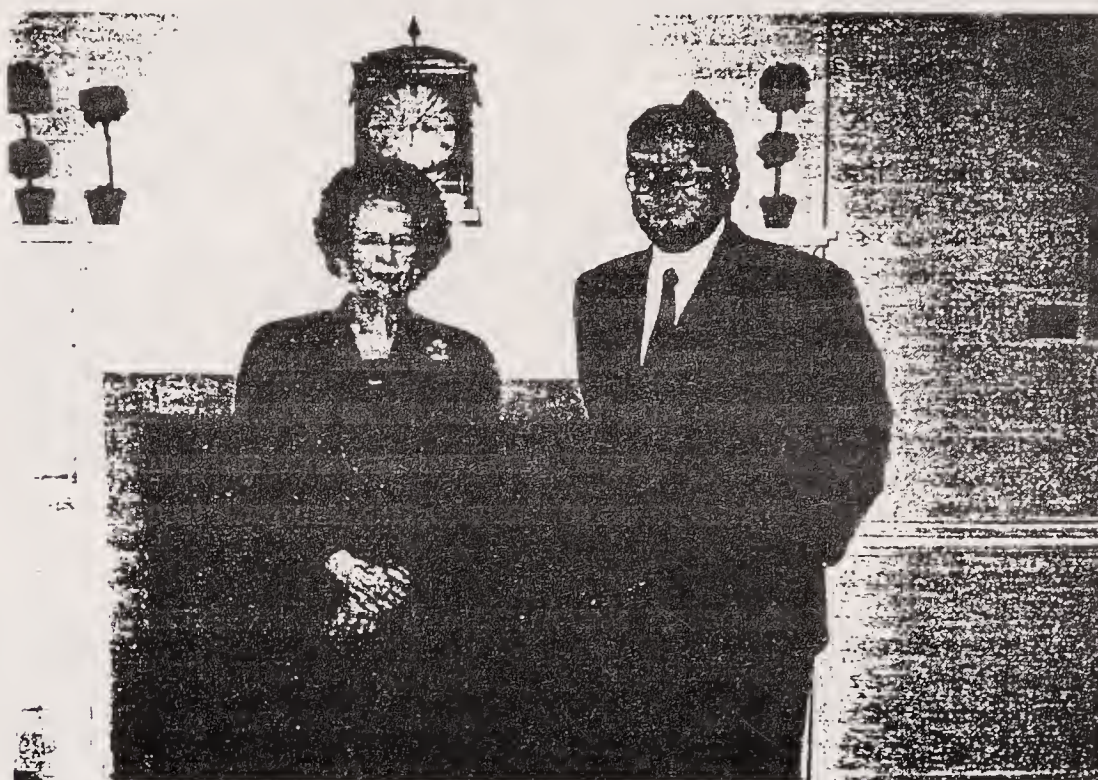
Estonian recruitment ad for Avon cosmetics

Note how the alien elements are integrated morphologically, in the forms *AVON'i* (genitive case), *AVON lady'ks* (translative singular), *Avon lady'deks* (translative plural). Note also the abbreviation *AS* (*aktsiaselts*), the fact that the potential ladies are addressed throughout in the familiar second-person singular, and even the fact that the phone numbers are mostly on the national mobile exchange.



Czech tourist-trinket chopping board

This item, with its *Upwards to Europe* slogan, was at least meant in irony.



Olen jälginud suure sümpaatiaga *Isamaa* ja tema valimisliitlaste meelekindlust ja julgust viia Eesti Vabariik turumajanduse ja demokraatia teele. Ma tean, et see ei ole olnud kerge, kuid nagu on öelnud Mart Laar, pidi seda keegi ju tegema.

Ma pean Eestit üheks kõige edukamaks riigiks Ida- ja Kesk-Euroopas. Eesti saavutused tõestavad eduka ülemineku võimalikkust teistes riikides meeleheitel olevatele inimestele.

Ma loodan, et reformid Eestis jätkuvad. Euroopa tulevik on vabaturumajanduse ja demokraatlike institutsioonide päralt, mitte tagasi-pöördumises sotsialismi, mille pärast Eesti ju nii palju kannatanud on.

Need on põhjused, miks ma soovin *Isamaale* ja tema liitlastele parimaid valimistulemusi.

MARGARET THATCHER

Briti Teeneteordeni kavalier, Riiginõunik

Pre-election advertisement for Mr Mart Laar

Mrs Thatcher acts as an ideological asset; she is identified as a Chevalier of the British Order of Merit and a Privy Councillor.

ANTIPARAZITNÍ OBOJEK

PLAČEK & CO.

ANTIPARASITICAL COLLAR



Vážení zákazníci,

představujeme Vám nový výrobek firmy Pláček CO.. Je určen pro psy, kočky a další zvířata. působí proti vnějším parazitům (blechám, klíšťatům apod.).

Obal výrobku otevřete až bezprostředně před použitím. Na krk zvířete umístíte obojek tak, aby přiléhal.

Antiparazitní schopnost obojku trvá minimálně po dobu 5 měsíců.

Stykem s vodou se osovobnost obojku nenarušuje. Je určen k vnějšmu použití.

Nepoužívejte u nemocných zvířat.

Chraňte před dětmi.

Spokojenost s našim výrobkem
Vám přeje firma

PLAČEK & CO.

ČSFR, 290 01 Poděbrady. Na Ostade 756

tel., fax: 0042/324/45 36

Dear customers,

we would like to present you new product of the firm Pláček and CO.. It is for dogs, cats and other animals. This one functions for extermination of fleas, ticks and other outer parasites.

The cover of product you open immediately before using. You locate the collar on the neck of animal so that it would be fitting.

The antiparasited ability of collar lasts min. during 5 months. The activity of collar is not canceled with the contact with water. It is determined only for outer using.

Do not use for ill animals.

Protect it from children.

The satisfaction with our product
wish you the firm



PLAČEK & CO.

ČSFR, 290 01 Poděbrady. Ne Ostade 756

tel., fax: 0042/324/45 36

Packet from a Czech flea-collar

Here note, in particular, the unbelievably inept 'English' translation, including the bizarrely outdated address to *Dear customers*, which can only be there out of a misguided urge to impress, and the unwarranted use of & CO. (and *and CO.*). Also the joint phone/fax number, a widespread irritant, since many businesses invested in cheap machines that could not identify the nature of an incoming call: possession of a fax machine became a must, but sending a fax to such a dual-purpose machine has remained a problem, since owners of them habitually pick the receiver up and seek to converse in vain with the sending fax machine.

24 H

• ÖRNUŠ •

firma • ЖЕЖЖОСМБ •

• SWEET •

55-27-11

Trilingual advert for an Estonian dating agency

The Russian and Estonian slogans match ('tenderness'); the English is simply bizarre.

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